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Charles Bell's collection of 'curios':
negotiating Tibetan material culture
on the Anglo-Tibetan borderlands
(1900-1945)

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2014

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Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

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ABSTRACT

Charles Bell (1870-1945) the diplomat, Tibetologist and writer continues to be one of the most recognizable names from the Anglo-Tibetan encounter that played out in the Himalayan borderlands of the early twentieth century. Not only did he write a series of authoritative books on Tibet, but he considered himself a personal friend of the thirteenth Dalai Lama. Less well known are his collecting activities. Therefore this thesis will, for the most part, step away from his diplomatic achievements focussing instead on a rethinking of Bell, his 'curios' and the spaces that they occupied. A new material perspective will be presented that will question not only how Charles Bell became knowledgeable about Tibet, but also what agencies and agendas informed his collecting practices. Furthermore, it will become clear just how highly politicised Tibetan objects could become during a turbulent period in modern Tibetan history.

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	7
LIST OF FIGURES	9
MAPS	10
PROLOGUE	11
INTRODUCTION	13
CURIOUS ABOUT ‘CURIOS’	13
OUTLINING THE THESIS	15
HOW CHARLES BELL MATERIALISED – PRIMARY SOURCES	21
CHAPTER ONE - ‘I BECAME IN LARGE MEASURE TIBETANISED’	24
HOW CHARLES BELL CAME TO KNOW TIBET	24
A BIOGRAPHY FOR BELL	29
DARJEELING: ‘I SAW MUCH, YET UNDERSTOOD BUT LITTLE (AT FIRST)’	32
Walsh and the New Arrival	32
Laden La, Macdonald and the Tibetan Imperial Project	34
BECOMING A SCHOLAR-ADMINISTRATOR: BELL AND THE RESIDENCY 1908-1918	42
Bell and the Dalai Lama’s exile 1910-12	43
Bell, Kazi Dawa Samdup and Translating <i>Religion of Tibet</i>	50
Bell, the <i>List of Curios</i> and ‘Barmiak Lama’	53
‘LHASA AT LAST!’ 1919-1921	58
NOTES ON A COLLECTOR	68
CHAPTER TWO – SIGNIFICANT OTHERS	69
CHARLES BELL’S ‘LOCAL KNOWLEDGE’ ON THE ANGLO-TIBETAN FRONTIER	69
RAI BAHADUR ACHUK TSERING – ‘A VERY WISE SIKKIMESE GENTLEMAN’	74
DEWAN BAHADUR PALHESE SONAM WANGYAL – ‘MY PERSONAL GUIDE, PHILOSOPHER, AND FRIEND’	84
BARMIOK JEDRUNG KARMA PALDEN CHOGYAL - ‘THE BARMIAK LAMA’	93
FINAL THOUGHTS ON THREE MEN	102
CHAPTER THREE - CHARLES BELL’S TIBETAN ‘CURIOS’	104
AGENDAS, AGENCY AND APPROACHES TO COLLECTING	104
DARJEELING AND KALIMPONG: LEARNING TIBETAN	108
LHASA: MYTH MAKING THROUGH GIFTS OF DIPLOMACY	116
The Darjeeling Buddha	122
The Dance Costume	124
The Pen Case and the Soup Jar	127
GYANTSE: APPRECIATING ARISTOCRATIC TASTE	131

Gyantse and the Phalha family	132
REGIMES OF VALUES IN A COLLECTION OF ‘CURIOS’	143
CHAPTER FOUR - ‘THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROAD OF HARMONY’	146
THE SEMANTICS OF THE DIPLOMATIC GIFT DURING THE ANGLO-TIBETAN ENCOUNTER, 1910-1914	146
THE ORIGINS OF THE ANGLO-TIBETAN GIFT-EXCHANGE	148
Tibet: Ceremonials and the Gift	150
Giving and Receiving -The British India Experience	153
EXILE AND DIPLOMACY: THE DALAI LAMA IN BRITISH INDIA 1910-1912	157
The <i>Khatag</i> : Gift or Greeting?	159
THE DALAI LAMA AND KING GEORGE V: BUCKINGHAM PALACE, JUNE 1913	162
The Audience	164
Objects of ‘Tibetanness’	165
Religion	166
History, Traditions and Geography	168
The British Gift and an Icon of Contact Culture	170
Etiquette and Laden La’s Influence	172
The Carriage and its Consequences	172
TIBET AND THE BRITISH: SIMLA 1913-14	174
Simla Ceremonials	175
The Missing Gifts	177
The Dispersal	178
Guns: The Ideal Gift for a Contact Culture?	179
WRAPPING UP THE GIFT	181
CHAPTER FIVE - THE <i>TOSHA KHANA</i> AND A LIST OF CURIOS	183
COLONIAL CATALOGUING AND THE ARCHIVES OF COLLECTING	183
THE <i>TOSHA KHANA</i> : BRITISH INDIA’S TREASURE HOUSE	186
Brought on the books’: The Logistics of the <i>tosha khana</i> , from Tibet to the Foreign Office	190
David Macdonald: <i>tosha khana</i> stock-taker extraordinaire	194
The <i>tosha khana</i> and British India’s hierarchies of consumption	196
GIFTS WITHHELD – BIOGRAPHIES RETAINED	200
THE <i>LIST OF CURIOS</i> : BELL’S COLONIAL ARCHIVE	205
CLOSING THE ANGLO-TIBETAN ARCHIVES	211
POSTSCRIPT - WRITING UP	213
BELL’S EXILE IN ENGLAND AND ONE FINAL RETURN 1922-1938	213
THE FINAL WORD: A PORTRAIT OF THE DALAI LAMA 1939-1945	217
CONCLUDING WITH ‘CURIOS’	218
BIBLIOGRAPHY	221

VOLUME TWO

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – ANNOTATED <i>LIST OF CURIOS</i>	252
APPENDIX 2 - BIOGRAPHICAL ENTRIES	638
APPENDIX 3 - BELL'S PUBLICATION LIST	659
APPENDIX 4 - BELL'S CV	662
APPENDIX 5 - EXCERPTS FROM THE <i>MANUAL OF INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICERS OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA</i>	665
APPENDIX 6 - GIFT LISTS AND LETTERS	667
APPENDIX 7 - <i>TOSHA KHANA</i> LISTS	678
APPENDIX 8 - <i>TOSHA KHANA</i> ORIGINAL LISTS	682
APPENDIX 9 - BELL'S <i>TOSHA KHANA</i> LISTS	686
APPENDIX 10 - BELL'S <i>LIST OF CURIOS</i>	690

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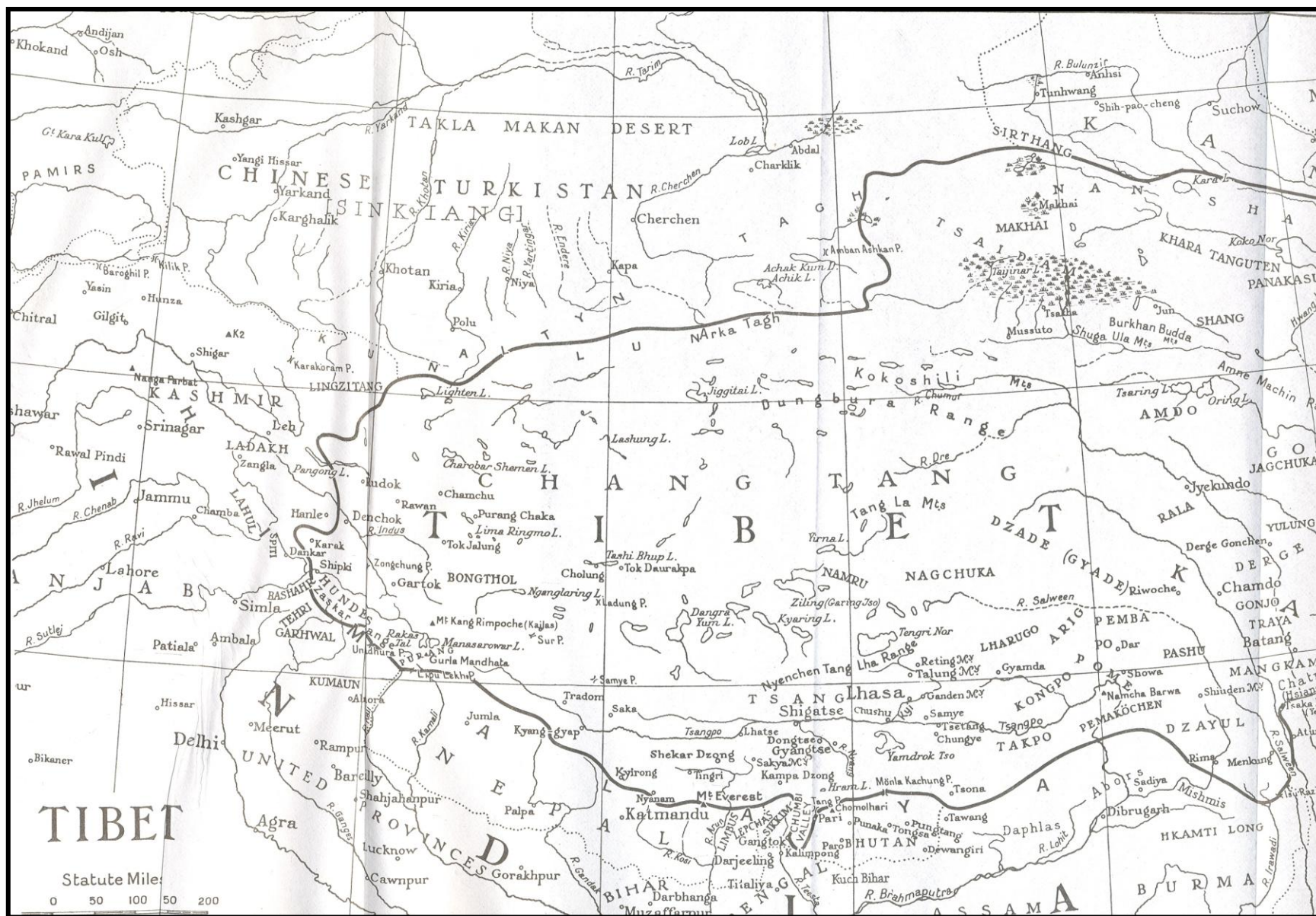
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LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1.1	Charles Bell in diplomatic uniform
FIGURE 1.2	Charles Bell, Sidkyong Tulku and the thirteenth Dalai Lama
FIGURE 1.3	Sonam Wangfel Laden La
FIGURE 1.4	David Macdonald
FIGURE 1.5	Dorje Chang or Vajradhara, Tibet
FIGURE 1.6	Shakyamuni Buddha, Nepal/Tibet, Private Collection
FIGURE 1.7	Shakyamuni Buddha, Nepal/Tibet, Private Collection
FIGURE 1.8	<i>mtshun pa spun bzhi</i> or 'Four Harmonius Brothers' <i>thangka</i> , by Tsotra Namgyal
FIGURE 1.9	Padmasambhava in the copper coloured mountain, Private Collection
FIGURE 1.10	'Gya-za Pe-za being performed at my Ache Lhamo', 1921
FIGURE 2.1	Achuk Tsering
FIGURE 2.2	Palhese
FIGURE 2.3	Barmiok Lama
FIGURE 2.4	Coronation of Tashi Namgyal, Gangtok
FIGURE 3.1	Darjeeling curio shop
FIGURE 3.2	<i>cha ma bum pa</i> or ritual ewers owned by Bell and Waddell
FIGURE 3.3	Gold medal presented to Bell by the Dalai Lama
FIGURE 3.4	Red lacquer lidded bowl, Suzhou, China
FIGURE 3.5	Robe from Black Hat Dancers costume, Lhasa, Tibet
FIGURE 3.6	Soup jar, Derge, Tibet
FIGURE 3.7	Padmasambhava, Tibet
FIGURE 3.8	Chain armour worn by Bell's 'soldiers', Gangtok Residency
FIGURE 3.9	Group at Gabshi Estate, 1915
FIGURE 3.10	Pair of bronze vases, China
FIGURE 3.11	Book cover for medical text, Tibet
FIGURE 3.12	Staffs of office or <i>pe re</i> , Tibet
FIGURE 3.13	Drawing room mantelpiece made from book covers
FIGURE 4.1	Tibetan exiles in Hastings House, March 1910.
FIGURE 4.2	Lungshar and the four Tibetan boys, 1913
FIGURE 4.3	Lungshar and the Tibetan boys at Buckingham Palace, 1913
FIGURE 4.4	King of Shambala <i>thangka</i>
FIGURE 4.5	Ringpung saddle, Tibet
FIGURE 4.6	British, Tibetan and Chinese delegations at the Simla Conference.
FIGURE 5.1	Jade <i>qilin</i> , China
FIGURE 5.2	Cloisonné pen holder, China
FIGURE 5.3	Enamelled stoneware bowl, Tibet/China
FIGURE POSTSCRIPT.1	Group of Bell's 'curios' photographed in Vancouver



MAP.1 Tibet and its neighbours from Charles Bell's *The People of Tibet*, 1928



DARJEELING CURIOS!

Darjeeling Curios consist almost wholly of personal ornaments, jewellery, weapons, religious articles, and human bones!

Sikkim wet, Nepal, Tibet,
Hills that nondescripts beget,
Come from these our curios,
Demon masks, and dominoes,
Kukries, knives, sword, shield, and spear,
Flagons strange for *Murva* beer.
Snuff-horns, bows, snow-leopard skins,
Scissors-daggers, pipes, and pins,
Butterflies in cases square.
Books of ferns and mosses rare.

Bronzes fierce, half lizard—lion,
Chorten models brass and iron,
Book-rests, tinder-purses small.
Amulets, and charms for all,
Coloured hand-wove *purdahs* long,
Peeroo, head-plates, nose-rings strong,
One-shell-bracelets, chatelaines.
Amber necklets, girdle chains.
Turquoise ear-drops long and wide
Set in silver Bhutia's pride.

Holy oil-pots, mystic things.
Oil-spoons, wine-horns, silver rings,
Six feet trumpets, shrines supreme,
Fire-box cones for spurting steam.
Rosaries of nut-shells old,
Worship gewgaws gilt and gold,
Chalices, monk's begging-bowls,
Mani-stones for *unctuous* souls,
Bo Trees gilt for altar-pieces.
Praying near them care surceases.

Sacred banners, gongs, and bells,
Altar lamps, *Dorjés*, conch-shells,
Blown like horns 'mid prayer and psalm,

Buddhas squatting crossed-legged calm.
Judgment pictures, shovel-hats,
Incense burners, praying mats,
Holywater vessels quaint.
Throned in gilt a Buddhist saint.
Tridents Trinity, and seals,
Charm-boxes, and praying-wheels.

Temple stoup, libation jug,
Dragon-dogs with noses pug,
Altar cloths, thumbed, long prayer-books,
Incense-sticks, and bishops' crooks,
Crozier gilt that wings bedeck,
Crosses, skulls adown its neck!
Praying flags trite Scriptures wave,
Th' Evil One from men to save.
Painted scrolls show demons nigh.
Devil-daggers make them fly!

Cimbals, bone-rings huge for thumbs,
Arrows, quivers, skull-made drums!
Faces brass with mouths wide thrust,
Shaped for holding human dust!
Lotus flowers supporting thrones.
Aprons made from human bones!
Beads from women's ribs! and then
Begging bowls from skulls of men!
Human thigh-bone trumpets queer!
Gruesome relics such are here!

Curios, thuribles for show.
Curios, credence tables low,
Curios, yaks' tails, monks' waist ropes,
Curios, mitres, cowls, and copes.
Curios, mongrels made to fright.
Curios, gimcracks brought to light,
Curios, Buddhs with outspread knees.
Curios, blest for devotees.
Curios, prized to hold and plead.
Curios, saints to intercede.

Curios, crude of mystic creeds,
Curios, medals, relics, beads.
Curios, each *few* rupees,
Curios, purchase at your ease,
Curios *here* a fair display.
Curios, buy and take away,
Curios, worn to bring God-speed,
Curios, curious indeed!

- J A Keble, 1912.¹

¹ Keble, *Darjeeling Ditties and Other Poems*, 87-90.



Curious about ‘Curios’

Captain J A Keble, army man, turned tea planter, turned virtuoso poet, reminds us that not only are there a hundred and one different kinds of Tibetan ‘curio’, but that there are just as many ways to think through them. As I read his poem for the first time it was impossible not to mentally tick off all the ‘curios’ that I had also encountered during the course of this research, albeit ‘curios’ that belonged to a very different list. Even though Keble’s own inventory of ‘curios’ may well be impressive and quite exhaustive (or one might say exhausting), I am extremely grateful to him for having the good grace to leave enough room for me to participate in some ‘curio’ rethinking of my own. Keble regales us with the properties inherent in the ‘curios’ he knew so well from the bazaar stalls of Darjeeling, a British India hill station that for most of its tourists was the closest they would ever get to Tibet. He positions the ‘curios’ he knew in turn as objects of magic and mystery, objects for consumption, objects of belief and objects that were there just to be curious about. While I might not have the luxury of perusing the early twentieth century Darjeeling stalls for my inspiration, I will instead focus my attention on an exceptional collection of ‘curios’ that once belonged to just one man and I will use them to rethink even further the multiple spaces that such objects can occupy.

The ‘curios’ in question belonged to Charles Alfred Bell KCIE CMG FRGS (1870-1945), a diplomat and Tibetan scholar whose name is still today synonymous with the Himalayan world. He called the inventory that he created for many of his 460 objects, the *List of Curios*.¹ This was more than just a straightforward list of things; this was a collection catalogue that now offers us a way into seeing the material networks and exchanges that played out in an area of north-eastern

¹ See Appendix 1 for an annotated and illustrated version of Bell’s *The List of Curios*.

India. A space where geographically and politically British India and Tibet met and where much of the Anglo-Tibetan encounter unfolded. It is a space that has recently been described as a Himalayan contact zone.²

Objects rarely find their way into the early twentieth century Anglo-Tibetan narrative, and rarer still are the occasions in which we find objects at the centre of those retellings. Tibet was never colonized by the British, but the more recent colonising project of China has thrown the traumatic loss of material culture that followed in the wake of the Younghusband punitive expedition of 1903-04 into sharp focus. Objects and the colonial experience in the Tibetan context have become a focal point for a burgeoning area of research, with a growing body of work that illustrates a new interest in this geographical and material area of study. Michael Carrington³ and more recently Timothy Myatt⁴ have given us much needed accounts of the British looting that took place during the expedition. While Clare Harris has also provided us with new details of the Younghusband looting and bazaar buying,⁵ it is her work more than any other that has widened our perspectives on colonial encounters with the Tibetan material world, tracing ideas of Tibet's imagining and rewriting in the hands of colonial powers (namely the Chinese and the British). More than this, she has also drawn our attention to the role visual culture can play in mapping out the colonial networks and contacts made during the Anglo-Tibetan encounter. Most importantly for me, Harris has highlighted the absence of scholarship concerning the, 'visual products of encounters between Tibetans and the foreigners who visited them', where, 'photographs and other kinds of imagery concerning Tibet (including painting and film) have been deemed unworthy of the close reading and context driven historical analysis which are so essential to the task of literary scholarship'.⁶ This thesis then is very much a response to her rallying call. As a museum curator I have chosen to take up Harris's challenge and to take this very particular material perspective, using Bells's 'curios' as my guide. Here, objects will occupy a central position; they will be our starting point, the nexus for the people, places and events that will become familiar to us during the course of this thesis. They will give us access to individual relationships that have otherwise gone unnoticed. They will help us to understand how Charles Bell became knowledgeable about Tibet and we will also see just how

² See Markus Viehbeck's abstract for the Thirteenth Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, July 2013, entitled, 'Conceptualizing Transcultural Encounters: Kalimpong as a "Contact Zone"'. Available at, <http://www.iats.info/panel-39-when-different-worlds-meet-transcultural-encounters-in-the-eastern-himalayas-2/> (accessed on 18th January 2014).

³ Carrington, "Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves: the looting of monasteries during the 1903/4 Younghusband Mission to Tibet."

⁴ Myatt, "Trinkets, Temples, and Treasures: Tibetan Material Culture and the 1904 British Mission to Tibet."

⁵ Harris, *The Museum on the Roof of the World: Art, Politics and the Representation of Tibet*.

⁶ Harris, "Seeing Lhasa: British Photographic and Filmic Engagement with Tibet 1936-1947," 5.

highly politicised Tibetan objects could become during a formative period in modern Tibetan history.

Despite starting with just one colonial-era collector and his objects this is not simply a collection history nor is it just a collector's biography. This in essence is instead the recataloguing or the repositioning of a collection, embedding it into both the relational networks and the wider geographical and political circumstances that made its accumulation possible. This rereading of these objects has made this study a cross disciplinary one and during the course of this research Bell and his 'curios' have taken me into a number of unexpected, but enriching areas. The more obvious disciplines and discourses of museum (ethnography) studies, art history, visual anthropology, material culture studies and collecting histories have been supplemented by British Indian history and the much wider subject of colonialism, Tibetan modern history, borderland studies, archival studies, subaltern studies and those post-colonial critiques that concentrate on the imperial travelogue.

Outlining the Thesis

While we begin by disentangling Bell from the macro-narrative of empire, by looking into the small Himalayan world that he inhabited, with each chapter we will widen out our perspective. Bell, his 'curios' and the spaces they occupy in the retelling of the Anglo-Tibetan encounter will be the bedrock of this thesis, but there is also a much wider story to tell. One that illustrates how Bell and the British India government negotiated Tibetan material culture on the Himalayan borderlands and how it played a pivotal, if momentary role, in defining the relationships between British India and Tibet in the early twentieth century.

Chapter one will act as an introduction to Bell. Until now there has been a particular approach to Bell that focuses primarily on his diplomatic and political achievements. Despite the academic revisions made to our understanding of the imperial project in British India through the writings of post-colonial thinkers, Bell's portrayal, thanks largely to his own writings, has remained in many ways that envisioned for the colonial officer by his contemporaries from the early twentieth century. This was one that imagined; 'the ideal of the lone colonial officer and sage, standing at the centre of a web of untainted knowledge, the man who 'knows the country'.⁷ Following in Alex McKay's footsteps, I will aim for a more realistic understanding of Anglo-Tibetan contact and my starting point here will be one of Bell's most often quoted thoughts on

⁷ Bayly, "Knowing the Country: Empire and Information in India," 3.

his time in the Anglo-Tibetan borderlands. ‘I became in large measure ‘Tibetanised’⁸ has become a phrase that defines Bell and his diplomatic actions, but in this specific context we will ask ourselves, how did Bell become materially and intellectually ‘Tibetanised’ and what form did that ‘Tibetanisation’ take? Although Bell would have had no such sense of the term, his describing the process of understanding Tibet as his ‘Tibetanisation’ can today be understood as a form of transculturation. The term ‘transculturation’ first coined in 1947 by the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz was used to describe the negotiations and accommodations made by indigenous communities that resulted from colonial contact or some form of oppression.⁹ In 1992 Mary Louise Pratt took the term and used it as a guiding principle in her rethinking of colonial travel writing and the myth of the lone traveller. She convincingly argued that the colonial traveller did not and could not have a monopoly over knowledge and its interpretation,¹⁰ for Pratt new ways of knowing, acting and thinking were open to both parties. When we take a bird’s eye view of colonial history, where the details are indistinguishable, Bell’s imperial posting signals him as one of many all knowing, powerful colonialists. However, when we look at the intricacies of how he came to know Tibet Bell was not necessarily always in a position of power. Instead, he relied heavily on local intellectuals who worked and lived in the dominant Tibetan and Sikkimese cultural and political circles of the Himalayan borderlands.¹¹ Using literary scholarship and object connoisseurship to illustrate the point, this chapter will discuss some of the many processes and negotiations that Bell underwent as he became ‘Tibetanised’.

Chapter two begs the question, how local is ‘local knowledge’? Bell’s own Tibetan knowledge saw him become an ‘authority on Tibet’.¹² His ‘authority’ for his peers and the many Tibetan studies scholars who have since referred to his work was, and still is, defined by his sources and the prominence of local voices in his publications and in this case his object descriptions. As a response this chapter will prise apart the term ‘local knowledge’ using the biographies of three men who were instrumental to Bell’s diplomatic, material and aristocratic understanding of Tibet. In some cases their names have already been recorded as Bell’s confidants, for others their influence on his knowledge has been silenced until now. Like Bell these men had all lived eventful lives before they began working for the British India

⁸ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 29. Please note that I refer to two editions of this publication. The first in the main body of the text is referred to as *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, its proper title. However in the footnotes, I refer to the paperback edition that unhelpfully misprinted the title and changed it to *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*.

⁹ Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, translated by Onís.

¹⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*.

¹¹ I follow Mantena’s lead by referring to Barmiok Lama as a local intellectual, a more satisfying term for this lama and for many of the men Bell would work with than the more common ‘local knowledge’. See, Mantena, Rama Sundari. *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

¹² Bell was described as such in *The Times* obituary posted in April 1945, shortly after his death. A copy can be seen in the British Library, India Office Records (hereafter IOR) /L/PS/12/4295. Coll 37/62. Tibet: Sir Charles Bell.

government in the Himalaya and they had clearly not suddenly become animated at the moment of Bell's arrival. In fact these men came from the higher echelons of their respective societies and even without Bell they had their own familial networks that had already brought some of them into contact. However, the common denominator that bound them together was that their lives had been irreversibly altered by the presence of the British. To a greater or lesser extent each man had already gone through their own personal transculturation; negotiating and finding a place for themselves in what had been a volatile and oppressive environment. This was typified not only by the Younghusband expedition, but also by the enforced removal and imprisonment of the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim Thutob Namgyal (1860-1914) in the last decades of the nineteenth century by the then Political Officer of Sikkim, John Claude White (1853-1919) and the then Deputy Commissioner for Darjeeling Alfred Wallace Paul (1847-1912).¹³ It would be this British contact that would ensure each of the men came to Bell's attention.

Bell categorised the knowledge he received from Achuk Tsering (1877-1920), Barmiok Lama (1871-1942) and Palhese (c1870-c1936), the three men we will turn our attention to. He differentiated between the knowledge he gathered from those who lived in the borderlands from that he received from those who he saw as occupying a purer, more Tibetan space, seeing this knowledge as more authentic or Tibetan. But was that really the case? Was the knowledge of a Tibetan man whose family had been ripped apart by a British Indian spy purer than that offered by a British India schooled advisor? Philip D Morgan in his call for indigenous ethnographies, or, 'profiles of these crucial figures', asks; 'Were they suspended between worlds or were they firmly rooted on one side of the divide or the other?'¹⁴ There is, of course, no simple answer to this question and individual circumstances as chapter two will show determined just how rooted or suspended each man was. What this chapter will make clear to us is that local knowledge had already been tempered by the colonial experience and in no sense was the knowledge that Bell accumulated pure or untouched by colonialism. Moreover, local knowledge was not monolithic; it was as individual as each of the men Bell turned to in order to answer his questions or to gain an opinion. It was as individual as that of the Political Officers who came to the Himalaya and whose diplomatic styles and personal traits have already been traced out.¹⁵ Each man who was viewed as a holder of local knowledge had, just like the officers he worked with, his own agendas, his specialisms and also his gaps.

¹³ Appendix 2 contains a 'Biographical Entry' for each person mentioned in the thesis who had some association to Bell.

¹⁴ Morgan, "Encounters between British and 'indigenous' peoples, c.1500-c.1800," 53.

¹⁵ Courtesy of McKay's *Tibet and the British Raj*.

Our interests will return to Bell's collection in **chapter three** and to the modes of collecting and the enduring object narratives that in the museum context have come to define Bell's collecting style. The focus will fall in particular on three 'collecting sites' that although situated geographically, have just as much to do with Bell's evolving collecting styles as they do with the places he was collecting in. Bell is commonly thought of as a receiver of gifts, but his collecting practice was much more proactive than the passive accumulation of gifts suggests. In this chapter we will focus on just three of several collecting sites; Darjeeling/Kalimpong, Lhasa and Gyantse, but through them we will see how Bell negotiated Tibetan material culture at certain moments in his career and how his collecting was influenced by a diverse range of factors. We will begin with his initial uninformed responses to Tibetan 'curios' bought from travelling traders and local fairs in order that a Tibetan novice could learn Tibetan. We will then move to the acquisition of objects that reflected and symbolised the refined tastes of central Tibet's aristocracy that were not necessary always Tibetan. Here we will see that Bell was much more than just a receiver of gifts and that the men who provided him with 'local knowledge', also provided him with objects. His Tibetan collection did more than just reflect his changing tastes, but through his increasingly refined knowledge of Tibetan culture, it also reflected his comprehension of Tibet. Finally, while the centre of Bell's Tibetan world was Lhasa, Tibet for him was not just confined to teapots, devil daggers and Buddhist statues that are still today prevalent in the Tibetan collections now housed in museums across the world. The Tibet he knew incorporated many other things including, Chinese cloisonné, carved Chinese jades and Imperial silk textiles.

This chapter is not however just about the act of collecting, but also the memory of acquisition and the role Bell allowed objects to play in the fashioning of a Himalayan self. Despite accumulating a collection of several hundred objects, which he subsequently decided to catalogue, he rarely discussed his collecting activity in published volumes. When he did the objects he recalled came from the small proportion of his collection that can be described as gifts and invariably these chosen objects had been given by the thirteenth Dalai Lama.¹⁶ Having been a student of Professor Susan Pearce, it is impossible for me not to have been influenced by the idea of the biographical object and the understanding that; 'Objects are our other selves; the better we understand them, the closer we come to self-knowledge'.¹⁷ Thomas, Belk, Hoskins and Stewart have all played a part in shaping my arguments here and have given me ways into

¹⁶ Hereafter I will refer to the thirteenth Dalai Lama as the, 'Dalai Lama', I will only employ the numbering system if referring to a different incarnation.

¹⁷ Pearce, *On Collecting. An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, vi.

understanding why a select group of objects became so important to Bell.¹⁸ Thinking about archival silences, I use these narratives of Bell's longing for Tibet to show that certain, less positive or palatable parts of these acquisition stories were not included in Bell's later narratives. I take the opportunity here to show that while Bell convinced us that these iconic objects should symbolize, friendship, understanding and an exchange between two men, the context that these moments of material contact often played out in consistently fizzed with political machinations, hoped for arms deals and the possibility that British India would support Tibet's claims to independence.

In chapter four we will turn our full attention to the idea of the gift, but in this case not the gifts given between two men, but the extravagant gift giving that heralded each of the major diplomatic encounters between British India and Tibet. The main aim of this chapter is to show that the idea of the gift - a label attached to a small but significant group of Bell's collection and a term that continues to validate Bell's collecting practice - was neither benign nor passive when it came to an object's arrival into a colonial officer's collection. Surprisingly, diplomatic gift exchange has been little studied in post-1857 India. The real academic focus on gift-giving and ambassadorial exchange centres instead on the early modern and significantly pre-colonial periods, including when Elizabethan England was making its first attempts to woo the powerful Mughal emperors. To remedy this position, to some extent, here we will take three gift exchange events that took place during one of the most diplomatically sensitive periods in the Anglo-Tibetan relationship (1910-1914). Each exchange resulted in the giving of several groups of Tibetan material culture at crucial moments of political decision making. These give us an insight into how the British chose to understand and also classify the Tibetan gifts they were given and how they selected those they would give in return. McKay makes us aware of Tibet's transculturation in relation to British India, especially in terms of its modernising agenda for Tibet,¹⁹ but if we use gift-giving as a focus we witness British India's own material transculturation that resulted from the gift giving events we will be party to. We will see how Bell and yet again the men he relied on for 'local knowledge', shaped these gift giving events and how their decisions were influenced or diluted by the wider British India circle and the wishes of the British and British Indian governments.

Finally, we will focus on the archives. There is a long list of scholars who have encouraged those of us who work with archives to read them 'against the grain'.²⁰ To remember

¹⁸ Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," 317-326, Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How things tell the Stories of People's Lives* and Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the collection*.

¹⁹ McKay, "'Truth,' Perception and Politics: The British Construction on an Image of Tibet," 67-90.

²⁰ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*.

that they contain ghosts of those who established and shaped them²¹ and that they are also spaces in which knowledge has not only been deposited, but also lost. The archives of colonial institutions embody the very idea of the imperial palimpsest, where the process of creating an official memo or demi-official letter ensured that the individual voices present on each draft and note have been written over, or written out to such a degree that they can no longer be heard.²² But there are occasions when the archive has not forgotten, but instead the archival researcher has just not yet thought to look. Early on in my PhD research I attended a roundtable discussion on the nature of archives and it was proposed there that the archive as a process repeats itself, with the continual collecting and producing of a certain type of knowledge.²³ Could we also say that the same processes apply to those of us who have focussed on colonial collecting histories? We have heavily relied on a series of individual narratives (in the guise of the collector's voice) and also personal papers to shape our understanding of collecting in the imperial context. The letters and manuscripts, the museum collections and the individual object catalogues, when woven together, have made these collecting histories possible, but the bigger imperial picture has yet to be scrutinized.

With one such forgotten archive, the archive of British India's *tosha khana* or 'treasure house' **chapter five** will turn our reliance on reading British India colonial collecting through individual narratives on its head. Instead, it will introduce a new grand narrative for collecting India, and by extension Tibet, during the British empire. Here, we will juxtapose the imperial object archive with that of Bell's *List of Curios*, allowing for the first time the possibility of reading colonial collecting in British India from its most expansive viewpoint, down to its more focused counterpart, the micro-narrative of the individual collector. Using the *tosha khana* archives held in the National Archives of India, New Delhi (hereafter NAI), we will trace the arrival of gifted Tibetan objects into the hands of British India officers and see through the inventory records how easy it was for objects to lose their Tibetan lives. A gift to an officer like Bell did not necessarily mean that it was destined to remain in his collection, nor that the conditions under which it had been exchanged would survive as a narrative tied to the object. Instead we will observe how gifted objects became highly mobile at the moment of exchange, following them first into a Tibetan outpost store as they were deposited and inventoried, and then as they made the precarious journey down to the heart of British Indian administration where they were

²¹ Derrida, *Geneses, Genealogies, Genres, and Genius: The Secrets of the Archive* and Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*.

²² Dirks, "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: The Biography of an Archive," 279-313.

²³ Discussion held during a 'Research Skills Intercollegiate Network' seminar, University College London, 5th December 2009.

subsequently sent out for valuation, before finally being 'brought on the books', by the imperial registrar. Only then could they be sold, on occasion back to those involved in the original exchange, but more likely to men who had power and authority and who had no connection to the original material encounter at all.

We will then turn to information or knowledge and particularly what kinds of knowledge were important to those tasked with confining it to the archive. We will see how British India's administrative concerns for very particular types of information determined what, if any, biographical data travelled with a given object. These archives will also offer us an insight into how individual officers interpreted the wishes of the British India government and how certain men give us a glimpse into just how very different our understanding of Tibetan objects now stored in British and Indian museums could have been, if only knowledge had not been lost during the process of inventory.

We will also see the imprint of this institutional archive in Bell's *List of Curios*. Information gathering was a vital component of any colonial officer's duties and the skills used in gathering Tibetan aristocratic intrigue and political intelligence were also employed by Bell in the cataloguing of his objects. We will see in Chapter One that Bell's *List of Curios* contains not only multiple voices, but also multiple ways of reading objects. When these ways of knowing did not match up the *List of Curios* gives us an insight into how Bell through his own cataloguing practices tried to establish the facts and how he sought information from a variety of sources in order to ensure the opinions he sent to government were unshakeable. This process was fraught with limitations and when Bell gathered irreconcilable facts from his most trusted confidants, we see quite clearly the uncertainties of object and information gathering in the empire.

How Charles Bell Materialised – Primary Sources

I first met Charles Bell in the stores of National Museums Liverpool (where I work) in 2003, almost sixty years after his death. From that first moment, as I looked through a seemingly unconnected group of objects and diary upon diary's worth of random notes, I knew him as a collector first and a diplomat second and throughout this process I have endeavoured to keep this relationship to objects to the fore. Museum collections, both objects and their archives have been a vital source and I am grateful to Bell that he saw significance in depositing objects in these spaces. Prior to his final trip to Tibet in 1933 Bell made plans for the donation of parts of his collection and the accompanying list that he had prepared, as a result Bell's presence can still be felt in the British Museum, the Victoria & Albert Museum (hereafter the V&A) and the British Library's manuscript collections. After his death, Bell was buried with his wife Cashie, in

a simple grave not far from where he had spent his final years in Oak Bay, Vancouver Island. But his memories would not be buried with him and the objects he had taken to that remote outpost of empire would make the journey back to England shortly after his death in 1945. A select few had been chosen by Bell for the British Museum and this bequest would arrive in December 1946.

But there were many more objects and photographic albums left. Some Bell perhaps thought were not appropriate for a 'Tibet collection, representing as they did Tibetan taste for Chinese fine art, while others seem to have been too closely tied to his Himalayan life to let go. The collection, now outside of his control, was further divided: some would stay with the family and would be distributed further, while others would be deposited at Newbury Museum close to the Bell family home. Shortly after in 1949 the museum realised it could no longer care for them and having heard of Liverpool Museum's virtual destruction during the Blitz of May 1941, it sent a letter asking if the museum would like to take in a; 'large collection of very fine Tibetan curios once belonging to the late Sir Charles Bell'.²⁴ It most certainly did. This deposit would include objects, photographic albums, framed photographs and a large number of diaries and notebooks and after some persistence on the part of the then curator Elaine Tankard (1901-1966) it would also include a copy of the *List of Curios*. This major loan would finally be transferred to Liverpool in 1988 and ten years later a significant proportion of the remaining photographs would be donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum, along with several lists, notebooks and diaries.

I have followed Bell, retracing his own journeys in India. In the National Archive of India, New Delhi I found a Bell I had only hoped might exist. There he could be seen writing reports for the men who would be known as his 'local knowledge', who until then we knew little about. Most overwhelming of all was his presence in the construction and negotiation of so many gift exchanges and especially his role in the buying and disseminating of those Tibetan gifts he had come into contact with. Travelling on to the eastern Himalaya and to Kalimpong, traces of the networks were still there to be found in discussions with the descendents of British India officers and the photographic archive held in that frontier town's Kodak Studios. Then in the tiny state archive of Sikkim, Bell was again tied to objects, this time overseeing the crown prince of Sikkim's efforts to create a Sikkim for the 1911 Delhi Durbar. His presence also remains in the Tibetan exile community, with an unpublished Tibetan translation by Tharchin - the Tibetan Christian publisher of the Kalimpong based *Tibet Mirror* newspaper - of *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*. This translation of Bell's final book is held in the archives of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh.

²⁴ H H Coghlan to J H Iliffe, 20th September 1949; National Museums Liverpool, Elaine Tankard correspondence, 1949-66.

Back in England, there were many public and private archives beyond the boundaries of the museum. The colonial records, photographs and private papers held by the India Office Records and the Public Record Office have made previous studies of the Anglo-Tibetan encounter possible. Here I again looked for objects, amongst many other things finding Bell modifying designs for a ceremonial carriage that would be sent as a gift to Tibet, a country without a system of roads. There were also scribbled and crossed through notes as he decided on the last gifts he would give to his most trusted Tibet connection, the Phalha family. Private archives have added a richness and depth I could not have anticipated. Of unrivalled importance were those still with the Bell family, where faces in photographs and names in diaries and notebooks traced out the ever-increasingly complex networks that Bell existed in. But there were also others that offered diaries filled with Laden La's accounts of royal gift exchanges and David Macdonald's disgruntled note on Bell's lack of credit offered for the many years of cultural and linguistic translation he had given.

The material record has undoubtedly been of singular importance to this thesis. While objects and how people negotiate them are its subject matter, in many ways it is the desire to reunite objects and photographs, with both collector's catalogues and personal and colonial archives that define how the following narratives have materialized. This is my interpretation of those many sources that now house a part of Bell's life and this more specifically is what I found when I went searching for Bell and his *List of Curios*.



'I became in large measure Tibetanised'

How Charles Bell came to know Tibet

My chief indebtedness, that to my Tibetan friends, has, I hope, been made clear in the text.¹

I have indeed been, fortunate in my colleagues.² - Charles Bell

As a young colonial officer scanned the horizon not long after his arrival in Kalimpong, where, 'on a clear day the jagged peaks of [the] Tibetan frontier can be seen,'³ he already knew that he, 'must catch a glimpse of the land of mystery'.⁴ Tibet was in touching distance, but also maddeningly for many of the British men who lived in the area it was, in August 1902, strictly off-limits. Tibet and particularly its capital Lhasa was still forbidden territory for the British. The Lhasa government had firmly closed the door to Tibet during the nineteenth century and this diplomatic brick wall put paid to any British India government ideas of travelling and exploring freely in a largely unmapped country that kept Russia and the Qing empire at arm's length. Despite this Tibet was not unknown in a pre-Younghusband era of Anglo-Tibetan contact, for British men *did* make unauthorised trips into Tibet and for someone like this young officer who needed to know, these political and geographical barriers would prove to be no real deterrent. So, with his new friend James Grieve,⁵ from the Forestry Department (and also Grieve's sister) a clandestine trip was planned.

¹ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 9.

² IOR, Eur Mss F80/205 File XXIV. Bell's Final Report On His Mission To Lhasa. 1921.

³ Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 312.

⁴ IOR, Mss Eur F80/218, Type copy of book VI, Chapter 1, 3.

⁵ Bell and Grieve would work together for several years, first in Kalimpong and then in Sikkim. He would aid Bell in his 'Tibetanisation' by providing him with lists of local flora and fauna that ran into hundreds of entries.

So, obtaining a few days' leave, we traversed a corner of Sikkim, crossed the Dze-lep pass, and spent two or three days in Ya-tung, seven miles across the Tibetan frontier, with Vincent Henderson of the Chinese Customs Service⁶

This young rebellious officer was none other than Charles Bell, the diplomat, Tibetologist and of most importance to us, collector (figure 1.1). In 1902 Bell was just beginning his life in the Anglo-Tibetan borderlands. Today, his Himalayan biography with its associations to Tibet, lamas and high drama on the roof of the world in the early decades of the twentieth century can easily be laid out as one extraordinary event after the other. For many scholars of twentieth century Tibet Bell is; 'the most influential British officer to serve in Tibet',⁷ making it; 'impossible to discuss events inside Tibet in this period without reference to Charles Bell'.⁸ His would become one of the most recognisable names in Anglo-Tibetan relations. He would be noted as a friend of the Dalai Lama and he would eventually go on to write some of the early twentieth century's most highly regarded books on Tibetan religion and culture; books that are still today considered forerunners for the modern discipline of Tibetan Studies.⁹ For twenty years he lived in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Gangtok, north-eastern India's frontier towns, playing a leading role in many of the significant diplomatic incidents that unfolded there. This was a man whose address book read like British India's Himalayan *Who's Who*.

Bell was one of a group of men who worked in this north-eastern edge of British India's empire, who today are collectively referred to as the 'Frontier Cadre'.¹⁰ These officers who committed themselves to this frontier region formed a lineage that stretched from White, the first Political Officer appointed in Sikkim in 1889 to Hugh E Richardson (1905-2000), the Head of the British Mission in Lhasa who would leave his post in 1950. Despite having very different attitudes to Tibet, its people and its material culture they would form a coherent unit. They not only shaped British India's policies on Tibet, but they influence even today how we imagine Tibet through their travelogues, photographs and the collections of 'curios' they each accumulated, many of which are now housed in museums across the UK. While White was held with little regard by his frontier colleagues his replacement, Bell would inaugurate an; 'apostolic succession',¹¹ establishing a British India way of engaging with Tibet that would be emulated by

⁶ IOR, Mss Eur F80/218, *Ibid*.

⁷ McKay, Tibet and the British Raj, 79 and Freeman, "Tibetan Photographic Collections at The Pitt Rivers Museum", in *Seeing Lhasa*, 142.

⁸ Palace, *The British Empire and Tibet, 1900-1922*, 47.

⁹ A full list of Bell's publications can be found in Appendix 3.

¹⁰ McKay coined the term in his, *Tibet and the British Raj*.

¹¹ Lamb, *Tibet, China & India 1914-1950*, vi.



FIGURE 1.1
Charles Bell in diplomatic uniform
Around 1915
Courtesy of Private Collection

his successors, ensuring that; ‘Bell had become the standard by which other officers were measured’.¹²

Despite these accolades Bell had not planned for a career as a frontier officer. His education at Winchester and his two years at New College, Oxford had instead prepared him to follow in his father’s footsteps. Henry Bell (1832-1910) was an Indian Civil Service (hereafter ICS) barrister for the Bengal government in the vast districts of Bihar and Orissa. Two of his sons, Charles and Arthur (1869-1892) on passing their exams would follow him there in 1891. Arthur, attached to the Indian army, would drown just one year later in the monsoon swollen torrents of the Mahanandi River that flowed in the Bengal plains. Charles worked in increasingly responsible Collector and Magistrate positions in Bihar and Orissa, but his health would be eaten away by debilitating illnesses including, malaria, typhoid, dysentery and colitis, diseases that would follow him for the rest of his life. But as Bell recalled; ‘To me the fates were kind,’¹³ for in 1900 he was sent to Darjeeling, a hillside ridge with panoramic views of the Himalaya that had

¹² *Ibid.*, 75.

¹³ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 23.

been annexed by the British from the Chogyal or ruler of Sikkim in 1835. Here he could take advantage of this burgeoning health resort and its baronial Eden Sanatorium, where colonial officers stayed to recover from the many illnesses they contracted on the Indian plains.¹⁴ It was there that Bell decided he was not going back to the plains to die and instead committed himself to learning Tibetan as a way of securing a transfer to the borderlands.

His personal decision would come at a critical moment in Anglo-Tibetan relations. By 1900, the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon (in office 1899-1905) was already making efforts to fill gaps in British India's colonial knowledge by attempting diplomatic relations with the temporal ruler of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso (1868-1933). But when the letters were returned unopened, his bruised prestige coupled with his anxieties over the influence of Russia in central Asia and Tibet could not allow this uncertain *status quo* to continue. On the pretext that borders and existing treaties had been violated a frontier mission was approved by government in 1903. Whether the Tibetans wanted it or not the British were determined to see Tibet for themselves. This mission that would take the name of its joint commissioner, Colonel (later Sir) Francis Younghusband (1863-1942) would turn into a major military invasion. Troops would fight and loot their way through southern Tibet known as Ü-Tsang, devastating Gyantse, until finally in August 1904 the mission arrived in Lhasa. One of the results of the unilateral treaty signed in the Potala on the 4th September that year was the opening of British Trade Agencies in Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok in southern and western Tibet, paving the way for the formation of the frontier cadre that Bell would be part of.

Bell would be one of the few men already working in the Himalaya not to be called up to the Younghusband punitive expedition. Despite his absence the ramifications of this Anglo-Tibetan encounter that would define the careers of so many other Himalayan frontier officers, would be the colonial backdrop onto which Bell's diplomatic career would play out. Bell would have to wait a further sixteen years before he would see Lhasa for himself, but his career in the meantime would make him a witness to (and a recorder in copious diaries and notebooks of) many of the defining moments of Anglo-Tibetan contact and he would meet and work with many of the central figures in modern Himalayan history. While his first diplomatic mission would take him only as far as Shigatse, for a meeting with the ninth Panchen Lama, Thubten Choekyi Nyima (1883-1937) in 1906 (see Chapter 3), on receiving the appointment of Political Officer, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet in 1908 he would find himself criss-crossing the borderlands that he became responsible for. He would lead a mission to Bhutan for the negotiations and

¹⁴ See Bhattacharya, "The Sanatorium Enclave: Climate and Class in Colonial Darjeeling," 84-98.

signing of the Punakha Treaty in 1910,¹⁵ and in the following year he would accompany the Bhutan and Sikkim delegations at the Delhi Durbar of 1911.¹⁶ But he would largely be remembered for the events that resulted from the unexpected arrival into British Indian territory in February 1910 of the Dalai Lama. The Lama had fled from advancing Qing government forces, who were marching on Lhasa under the pretense of accompanying the soon to be new Lhasa Amban or Resident.¹⁷ During the Lama's stay in Darjeeling and Kalimpong he and Bell would develop a close working relationship that not only established Bell as a friend of the Dalai Lama, but critically his success in cultivating this friendship saw him become British India's chief Tibet expert. Visually, this period of contact is still today epitomised by those two men and their 1910 studio portrait together, accompanied by the standing Crown Prince or Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim, Sidkyong Tulku (1879-1914) (figure 1.2).

Bell would also be present when the British, the Tibetans and the Chinese tried to sit down and settle the 'Tibet Question' once and for all in Simla, the summer capital of British India, between 1913 and 1914.¹⁸ He would continue to battle against both the British and the British India governments in his support for Tibet and its right to arm itself against the Chinese army until he took long term sick leave in 1918. His final act in post reflected his diplomatic convictions with him residing over the handing back of full temporal power to the eleventh Chogyal of Sikkim, Tashi Namgyal (1893-1963); a right to rule that had forcibly been taken away from his father by Bell's predecessor.¹⁹ While he had officially retired due to a series of stress-related breakdowns in 1919, Bell was tempted back into service less than a year later by the promise of attaining his one unaccomplished goal, a visit to Lhasa. His ambition would be realised, at the invitation of the Dalai Lama, between 1920 and 1921 and on his return from this once forbidden city he would retire to write the books that would become some of the foundation stones of the discipline of Tibetan studies. But the lure of the Himalayas was always there and he returned for one final visit to southern Tibet in 1933-34, before continuing on to China, Japan, Manchuria and Mongolia in 1935 in search of a future book project. Having been unable to settle back in Britain, Bell took himself, his papers and some of the objects he had collected to another corner of the British colonial world, Victoria on Vancouver Island. There,

¹⁵ The Punakha Treaty was signed by Bell and Ugyen Wangchuk on the 8th January 1910, signalling Britain's recognition and assurance of Bhutanese independence, while the British India government took control of Bhutan's foreign affairs.

¹⁶ Martin, 'Sidkyong Tulku and the Making of Sikkim for the 1911 Delhi Durbar.'

¹⁷ This is more generally understood as a military advance to reassert Qing authority in Lhasa following the incursion by Younghusband and his forces.

¹⁸ Between October 1913 and March 1914, representatives from the Chinese, British Indian and Tibetan governments negotiated over the status of Tibet and its borders.

¹⁹ IOR, V/10/1977, Administrative report for Sikkim, 1918-19.

FIGURE 1.2
Left to right: Charles Bell, Sidkyong Tulku
(standing), thirteenth Dalai Lama
March 1910, Calcutta
Photographer Johnston and Hoffman
Courtesy of Private Collection



he spent his remaining years, battling to finish his most remembered work, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, which he did, just a few days before his death in March 1945.²⁰

A Biography for Bell

Bell's was without question an eventful life. It might then come as a surprise to learn that despite the perceived romance of the positions he held and the exceptional circumstances he found himself in, he has yet to be the subject of a monograph. His life as a colonial officer, so often laid out in the sequence of events narrated above, has remained largely unrevised. This is the case both in the research of several generations of Tibetan studies scholars and also in the wider post-colonial academic landscape that has sought to deconstruct the legacy, the legitimacy and the omnipotence of imperialism in colonial India. For the most part the influential accounts of Bell have focussed on his involvement in the political and diplomatic affairs of British India and Tibet. We have to thank Clive Christie, Alastair Lamb and Alex McKay for these invaluable

²⁰ A 'CV' for Bell, listing all his major achievements from birth to death can be found in Appendix 4.

contributions.²¹ This trio of scholars has brought to our attention this very particular colonial encounter using not only the early twentieth century writings of Bell and the other members of the frontier cadre, but also extensively the archives of the India Office Records (hereafter IOR) and the National Archives of India (hereafter NAI). But as Tsering Shakya, the historian of modern Tibet, urges us to remember, diplomacy and international political rivalries are just one of many ways to read modern Tibetan history and I would add by extension, Charles Bell.²² And so we return to Clare Harris who has found another way and whose thinking will accompany this biography. Her work on the visual history of Tibet, the photographs and objects collected by the British during this colonial encounter that Bell was so very much a part of, has given us new insights into the spaces that visual culture occupied during this moment in early twentieth century history.²³ This introduction to Bell will not then aim to replicate in greater detail the political biographies already so well known, but instead using networks, visual culture and archives I will read him in quite a different way, asking, how did Bell become, *‘in large measure Tibetanised’*?

This will be a biography that centres on knowledge accumulation, the actual processes of how Bell learnt to know Tibet. This will not be a step by step chronological account of his life, but by using certain moments it will highlight his growing knowledge and his continual education. Specifically, it will map out his Himalayan frames of reference, outlining the methods he used to collect, catalogue and transmit the knowledge he accumulated. His scholarship and particularly his material knowledge, what he knew about objects - interests that were bound to each other and informed one another - characterized a significant aspect of his life that has until recently gone largely unreported.²⁴ As a result I want to piece together an alternative biography, a counterpoint to his political life. In the process, we should become much more attuned to how Bell came to understand Tibet’s material and cultural world.

The guiding principles for this biography come from the post-colonial discourse that surrounds imperial travel writing and in particular the writings of Mary Louise Pratt and her

²¹ See, Christie, ‘Sir Charles Bell: A Memoir,’ Lamb, *British India and Tibet, 1766-1910* and *Tibet, China & India 1914-1950*, McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj: The Frontier Cadre 1904-1947*.

²² Shakya, ‘Introduction: The Development of Modern Tibetan Studies’ 1-14. Shakya identifies the following literary topos; the Missionary, the Diplomatic, the Journalistic, the Social Scientific and the Travelogue.

²³ See, Harris’ work for ‘The Tibet Album’ <http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/index.php> (accessed 27th November 2013) and see in particular the extensive relational work that has connected photographs to colonial archives, to people, to places and to events. Also of particular note is the research undertaken that has reinstated Rabden Lepcha, Bell’s ‘photographic orderly’ as a principle photographer during this period.

²⁴ Apart from the author’s own work, Bell’s collecting activity has been discussed by Moore, “Colonial Collecting: A Study of the Tibetan Collections at Liverpool Museum,” Wintle, “Creation, Collection, Exhibition: Reinventing the Tibetan Collection of Charles Bell,” Harris, Entry in: *A Camera in Tibet: Photographs of Charles Bell and Spencer Chapman* and *The Museum on the Roof of the World*, De Alarcón, “Charles Bell,” Freeman, “Tibetan Photographic Collections at The Pitt Rivers Museum,”

seminal work, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*.²⁵ I am particularly interested in her use of the term, ‘transculturation’, a term borrowed from the discipline of ethnography, that; ‘describe[s] how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture’. In her definition Pratt’s marginalised or subordinated groups are those who have been subjected to colonialism or slavery, but could we in fact see Bell’s ‘Tibetanisation’ as a form of transculturation? Pratt, does in fact think this is a possibility, when she further suggests;

If one studies only what the Europeans saw and said, one reproduces the monopoly on knowledge and interpretation that the imperial enterprise sought. This is a huge distortion, because of course that monopoly did not exist. People on the receiving end of European imperialism did their own knowing and interpretation...using European tools²⁶

Crucially, how and what type of knowledge Bell accumulated depended heavily on the men he tied himself to, the pre-existing and constantly evolving networks that operated across the Himalaya and Tibetan plateau, what Pratt would describe as a ‘contact zone’.²⁷ The men who introduced Bell to Tibet, to its etiquette, its politics, its natural history and its intrigues were also the men who stood beside him when he picked up an object. They were the men who would look at a statue of Shakyamuni Buddha and then offer Bell a number of different ways to read it. I will show that the collective frames of reference of these Himalayan men became Bell’s own frame of reference. Local intellectuals, as we will see throughout this thesis, were just as critical to Bell’s success as a collector as they were to his achievements as a diplomat and they were no less critical in ensuring that Bell has retained his knowledgeable and authoritative persona into the twenty-first century. This rereading of Bell will show just how committed he was to knowing Tibet through these men, to not only *knowing that*, but to *knowing how* (and to a certain extent why). What I mean by this is that, he was not only simply interested in recording the facts and information given to him, but that he wanted to recognize the significance of a gesture or an act, he wanted to know how to act Tibetan.

Darjeeling: *I saw much, yet understood but little (at first)*²⁸

Even for today’s Darjeeling visitors, it is easy to imagine this hillstation as a Himalayan contact zone. A place where Bengali and western tourists can visit a Tibetan Buddhist monastery, an

²⁵ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁷ ‘Social spaces, where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today’, Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

²⁸ IOR, Eur Mss F80/218, Charles Bell’s ‘Type copy of book VI’, Ch. 1, 2.

Anglican church or a Hindu temple. Or, where visitors browse the stalls filled with 'Tibetan style' 'curios' owned by Nepalese and Kashmiri businessmen and have high tea at the Windermere Hotel as the sound of bagpipes wafts over from the tea planters' club. The Darjeeling that Keble has already introduced us to - one that seemed to be overflowing with 'curios' - will be our destination in Chapter 3, but there was another side to Darjeeling that I want to focus on here. When Bell arrived in the hillstation in 1900 he would not only find 'curios', high tea and the sanatorium, but also a diverse group of men participating in a branch of the imperial project; the accumulation and the systematisation of knowledge relating to Tibet.²⁹

Despite its diminutive size, Darjeeling was becoming an intellectual hub in the latter years of the nineteenth century. It was a prime location for undertaking a project to know Tibet, where as one notable scholar recalled; 'I could feel the pulse of the sacred city itself beating in the large communities of its natives, many of whom had left Lhasa only ten or twelve days previously'.³⁰ In those years prior to the Younghusband expedition, this it was argued was the closest an imperial officer could get to Tibet without actually stepping inside its off-limit borders. It was here in parallel and with reference to their missionary counterparts in Ladakh that these men who came from a range of British India positions began the process of reimagining or reinventing an ideology. This was a British India approved way of thinking and writing about Tibet that focussed on its language, its belief systems, its institutions and its material culture. This very particular intellectual milieu had a profound influence on Bell.

Walsh and the New Arrival

Almost as soon as Bell left the sanatorium, we see the first traces of the intellectual networks that would become so critical to Bell's success in the Himalaya begin to emerge. Ernest Herbert Cooper Walsh, ICS (1865-1952), is not necessarily a name we immediately associate with Bell. He neither appears in the long list of credits and acknowledgements that can be found in the front of Bell's books, nor is he there in Bell's *List of Curios*. But, by looking far beyond Darjeeling to the obituaries written to mark Bell's death in 1945, we find their link. In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (hereafter, *JRAS*) there is a short notice written by Walsh that alerts us to the fact that Walsh and Bell worked together in Darjeeling.³¹ When Bell arrived in the station Walsh was the Magistrate and Collector for the Darjeeling area. He would soon be appointed Deputy Commissioner for Darjeeling, a powerful position which was in essence the administrator post

²⁹ See Harris, *The Museum on the Roof of the World*, for an introduction to the Darjeeling Imperial project relating to Tibet.

³⁰ Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, xxxvii.

³¹ Walsh, "Obituary Notice Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., F.R.G.S."

for the hill station and the surrounding districts.³² He is also of interest as he would become a Tibetan scholar who would publish on a range of subjects including a vocabulary of the Chumbi valley dialect (1905), Tibetan coins (1907) and; ‘the most valuable of his Tibetan studies, a detailed account of the Tibetan anatomical system, according to a diagram procured in Lhasa: with the fully acknowledged assistance of a native physician’.³³ After retiring from the Indian Civil Service he returned to England and held positions at the School of Oriental Studies, later SOAS (Lecturer in Tibetan) and at the University of Oxford (Lecturer in Bengali)³⁴ and his own collection of objects, mostly from Lhasa, would be deposited in what is now the National Museums Scotland.³⁵

Walsh, administrator, scholar and ‘curio’ collector would be Bell’s first supervisor in the Himalaya, with Bell’s appointment to the relatively lowly position of Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Darjeeling sometime during 1900. Bell had only months before been a District Magistrate (the rank of his new supervisor) on the Bengal plains, however, he remembered this temporary demotion much later on as a life-changing opportunity. ‘As soon as I was able to leave the hospital, I set about learning Tibetan in the hope of employment and better health in the cooler regions of Tibet or the borderlands’.³⁶ Local language skills were critical for any officer who wanted to work in a new district, but as a recent arrival to the area, coupled with no contacts and a distinct lack of ‘local knowledge’, we surely see Walsh’s guiding hand in Bell’s appointment of his first Tibetan teacher. He was; ‘a gifted monk, who was born in Tibet and had worked for many years in a monastery not far from Gyantse[sic]’.³⁷ Bell’s own writings tell us that his initial language training was cut short, lasting for little more than a few months, as he was, ‘transferred to one of the outposts’. However, once there he was able to take up his classes in spoken Tibetan again, learning from a Tibetan tailor who spoke with what was the equivalent of ‘Queen’s English’, a Lhasa dialect. Then Bell tells us; ‘After a year in Darjeeling I passed the

³² See, Thomas, “Ernest Herbert Cooper Walsh,” 183, and Great Britain India Office, *The India List and India Office List for 1902*, 48.

³³ Thomas, *ibid.* As an aside, it should be noted that it was Waddell who arranged for the copy of the ‘anatomical system’ for Walsh, when he and David Macdonald, visited the Medical College on Chakpori after the Younghusband punitive expedition reached Lhasa in August 1904. See, Walsh, “The Tibetan Anatomical System,” 1215-1245.

³⁴ See, Thomas, *Ibid.*, 183.

³⁵ Inbal Livne, “Question about JC White”, email correspondence, 2nd May, 2011.

³⁶ Bell, *ibid.*, 23.

³⁷ Bell, *ibid.*, 24. I believe that Bell’s first teacher was *Shabdung* Lama, also known as Sherab Gyatso (not to be confused with the Mongolian Lama Sherab Gyatso), a personal attendant of Sengchen Lama (see Chapter 2). Sherab Gyatso was used consistently by the British as a language tutor, after he fled into exile from Drongtse Monastery which was, ‘not far from Gyantse[sic]’, but without any further mention of him as a teacher it is impossible to prove. See McKay’s excellent article on the execution of Sengchen Lama that includes information on Sherab Gyatso, McKay “The Drowning of Lama Sengchen Kyabying: A Preliminary Enquiry from British Sources,” 263-280.

government examination in 'Tibetan'.³⁸ Although we only have the tiniest threads of evidence to mesh Bell's life together in these early stages Walsh appears as a noteworthy influence. Alongside giving Bell access to the Tibetan speaking world, we find that Walsh's own intellectual networks included Laurence Austine Waddell (1854-1938), Walsh's fellow officer both in Darjeeling and during the Younghusband expedition and of most significance, Sonam Wangfel Laden La (1876-1936) and David Macdonald (1870-1962), two men who would become critical to Bell's status as a 'knower' of Tibet.

Laden La, Macdonald and the Tibetan Imperial Project

Bell arrived in Darjeeling just as a particular period in this imperial project was coming to a close. Two of Darjeeling's most renowned exponents Sarat Chandra Das (1849-1917) and Laurence Austine Waddell had either moved on or were nearing the completion of their defining works. Both men had been at the project's vanguard in Darjeeling, offering their own distinctive contributions. Das, the Bhutia Boarding School headteacher turned covert surveyor of Tibet became a magnet for the many explorers, spiritual seekers and collectors who came to the area. With the support of Ugyen Gyatso (1851-c.1915) and the Mongolian Sherab Gyatso (c.1820-after, 1902), two of Darjeeling's most noted linguists and scholars, he would use the notes he made and the manuscripts he had collected during his unauthorised travels in 1879 and 1881-82 to produce a series of highly confidential reports for the British Indian government.³⁹ Subsequently, with the heavy-handed editing of William Woodville Rockhill (1854-1914), America's first Tibetologist Das would publish a sanctioned version of his covert movements under the title, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, just in time for it to become an important travel guide for members of the Younghusband expedition. His *magnum opus* would be, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, a monumental project that would bring together local, western and Bengali scholars in order to complete the work.⁴⁰

Waddell on the other hand was a medical man, who had come to the Himalaya in 1885 as a scientist (Professor of Chemistry and Pathology) and an Indian Medical Service (hereafter IMS) officer, but by 1894 he would establish himself as the British India government's resident expert on Tibetan Buddhism, or 'Lamaism'.⁴¹ Waddell knew the Sikkim and Darjeeling district

³⁸ Bell, *ibid.*, 24.

³⁹ See, Das, *Narrative of a Journey to Tashilbunpo in 1879*, *Narrative of a Journey to Lhasa in 1881-82*, and *Narrative of a Journey Around Lake Yamdo (Palti) and in Lhoka, Yarlung and Sakya*.

⁴⁰ Lopez Jr points out thanks to Dan Martin that, 'It was Sherab Gyatso who was the true author of Sarat Chandra Das's Tibetan-English Dictionary, a fact only acknowledged on the Tibetan title page of this work'. See *"The Tibetan Book of the Dead": A Biography*, 159n.

⁴¹ Bell would later say of the term, 'Lamaism', 'Europeans and Americans commonly speak of the Tibetan religion as "Lamaism" and of themselves as "Lamaists". The Tibetans dislike these terms, which seem to imply that they are

monasteries and their collections well, but his primary research site would be his Darjeeling home. This didn't however make Waddell an armchair traveller and explorer, for instead he had crammed into his house a, 'Lamaist temple and its fittings'. 'I felt compelled to purchase',⁴² in order that the temple's Lamas could; 'explain to me in full detail the symbolism and the rights they proceed'.⁴³ His ethnographic research site would result in material that would form a significant portion of Herbert Hope Risley's edited volume, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, (1894), and he would soon after go on to publish his own influential work, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (1895) and later he would contribute to the *Linguistic Survey of India Vol. III, Part 2, Tibeto-Burman Languages* (1904). Tellingly, he would also work with Ugyen Gyatso and Sherab Gyatso.⁴⁴

While these two men are of significant interest for their work in the emerging field of Tibetan studies, they are not my primary interest here. As Harris notes; 'British colonial officers were often indebted to one another's scholarship and an epistemological lineage was established dating back to Waddell'.⁴⁵ That is indeed true, but in Bell's case we can sketch that epistemic line out even further. Not only were the respective methods of both Waddell and Das reflected in Bell's own early attempts to know Tibet (also see Chapter 3), but also crucially for this study this lineage can be traced to the Darjeeling-based scholars both these men worked with. These epistemological lineages that Harris brings to the surface did in fact go beyond the passing of the intellectual baton from one colonial officer to the next and instead incorporated a far wider intellectual network that saw scholars like Ugyen Gyatso and Sherab Gyatso passing on their own practices to the next generation. While Bell's arrival in Darjeeling had more than a touch of serendipity attached to it, we can see all too clearly how the new wave of imperial project scholars had been selected for their future roles. As a result we can also see how Bell would subsequently graft himself to these future 'knowers' of Tibet.

Sonam Wangfel Laden La (figure 1.3) and David Macdonald (figure 1.4), were part of this next generation, the future of the Tibetan imperial project. Both were destined for a life in the British India government, where they would go on to have distinguished careers. They were identified at schoolboy age as potential border-crossers, men who would have the ability to interpret and bridge the cultural gaps between local and colonial ways of knowing the world. In the case of Laden La it is hard to imagine how he could have failed to come to the attention of the British under the guidance of his uncle, Ugyen Gyatso. Ugyen Gyatso had been the first

not true Buddhists, as strongly as we should dislike being denied the name of Christian. The lamas, they say, are only the guides, who point out the path'. See, IOR, Mss Eur F80/218.

⁴² Waddell, *Ibid.*, viii

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Waddell, *Ibid.*, xii.

⁴⁵ Harris, "Seeing Lhasa: British Photographic and Filmic Engagement with Tibet 1936-1947," 74n.



FIGURE 1.3
Sonam Wangfel Laden La
Around 1907
Courtesy of Private Collection



FIGURE 1.4
David Macdonald
Yatung, Around 1913
Courtesy of Private Collection

teacher of Tibetan at the Bhutia Boarding School in Darjeeling, where he worked with Das. He was well known in Darjeeling as a respected *Nyingmapa* monk from Pemayangtse Monastery in Sikkim,⁴⁶ whose family not only owned estates in southern Sikkim, but who had, for several generations, served the Chogyals of Sikkim.⁴⁷ It would be the Chogyal himself who would recommend Ugyen Gyatso for the post of Tibetan teacher at the new school. This was to be the start of Gyatso's career in British Indian intelligence, not only would he teach Tibetan until 1893, but he would also undertake covert surveillance and mapping missions to Tibet, some alone, some with Das. He would act as Tibetan interpreter to the British during the border skirmishes between British India and Tibet in 1888-89 and he would also go to Nepal to bring home the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim and his party who had tried to escape into exile (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, between 1895 and 1910 he would manage the British India estates in Kalimpong.

Despite all this, Laden La was not a product of his uncle's Bhutia Boarding School, although this in no way meant that he had slipped under the British radar. Having received a dual education from the Jesuits at Sunny Bank (now St Joseph's) in Darjeeling and in Tibetan language from Sherab Gyatso at Ghoom Monastery, he would then receive his first British India post at the age of eighteen. He would be given the job of Apprentice Compositor, in the Government Press in Darjeeling working on Das's Tibetan-English dictionary project, again under the guidance of Sherab Gyatso. This would be the first of a number of positions the

⁴⁶ The *Nyingma* is one of the four major schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Its names means 'ancient', in reference to the school's founding using the earliest translations of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit to Tibetan.

⁴⁷ Rhodes and Rhodes, *A Man of the Frontier: S.W. Laden La*, 8.

British would try Laden La in. He would go on to be an interpreter to Paul, the then Deputy Commissioner for Darjeeling and he would also hold posts in the Imperial Police Service and it would be his future posting as a senior police officer for which Laden La would become well known to future researchers of Anglo-Tibetan relations.⁴⁸ But by 1901, he had returned to the office of the Deputy Commissioner Darjeeling working now for Walsh, Bell's first supervisor in the Himalaya. It is here then that it becomes clear that both Bell and Laden La were already colleagues within a matter of months of Bell's arrival in Darjeeling.

Macdonald's mentor would be Waddell. He like Laden La had also spent most of his early life in Darjeeling. His dual heritage (Scottish tea planter father, Sikkimese Lepcha mother), ensured he too would have an education that included subjects of importance to both the Tibetan and British Indian education systems. He had already come to the attention of the British as a pupil of the Bhutia Boarding School, and when he left there at the age of nineteen Waddell was already present and offering Macdonald suggestions for his future career. 'On the advice of Waddell...I joined the Vaccination Department under the Government of Bengal. When not on tour in the Darjeeling District I passed most of my time at the Depot Headquarters at Ghoom'.⁴⁹ Waddell thought highly of Macdonald and as a result wanted to keep him close to his Darjeeling-based projects. Through his own postings,⁵⁰ he supported Macdonald's application to the Vaccination Department, where Macdonald tells us he would remain touring the Darjeeling districts until 1901. For close to a decade Macdonald would assist Waddell with his textual and object translations, playing a significant and extended role in bringing some of Waddell's most well known publications to fruition. He tells us that; 'For some years I assisted this officer in the preparation of his works on the then little known religion of Tibet and Sikkim, Lamaism, and in some portions of his contribution to the Sikkim Gazetteer and the Linguistic Survey of India'.⁵¹ The type of interpretation and translation work the two men undertook for Das and Waddell would continue throughout their careers,⁵² but arguably their most significant contributions came in the work they did for Bell. Here we see, starting on a more modest scale, that both men would help Bell with his first attempt to leave a mark on the Tibetan imperial project.

⁴⁸ See, McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, 111, and Rhodes and Rhodes, "Sonam Wangfel Laden La-Tibet 1924 and 1930," 77-90.

⁴⁹ Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 12.

⁵⁰ See Waddell's career listed in, *The India List and The India Office List*, 637.

⁵¹ Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 12.

⁵² Macdonald would also assist Walsh with his publication on the Chumbi valley dialect and Laden La would compile the Sikkim words found in a separate section of that same publication. See Walsh, *A Vocabulary of the Tromowa Dialect of Tibetan spoken in the Chumbi Valley*, 1905.

The first evidence we have that Bell was beginning to take an intellectual interest in Tibet and the imperial project came with the publication of three short articles or notices published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1903.⁵³ A year later in 1904 we see a shift, with the publishing press of the Bengal government printing just 50 copies, a ‘tentative edition’ of a 24 page booklet authored by Bell entitled, *Tibetan Glossary and Rules for Transliteration from Tibetan into Roman Characters*.⁵⁴ This was Bell’s first attempt at making the Tibetan language comprehensible, a process that he hoped would not only benefit him, but other officers who would follow. Bell sent this tentative edition to Laden La, a copy of which remains with the Laden La papers, and having read the booklet Laden La; ‘scribbled notes which Bell used in subsequent editions’.⁵⁵ This small effort would not make it to full publication, but would instead morph into a more ambitious project. Bell’s colloquial dictionary and grammar would not only take into account Laden La’s comments but would be moulded to a great extent by Macdonald who tells us that; ‘I had met Mr Bell before, in Darjeeling, where I had assisted him in the preparation of his Manual of Colloquial Tibetan and in the compilation of his small Tibetan Dictionary’.⁵⁶ This was a project that stretched over several years and began soon after Bell arrived in Darjeeling, a time when he had very little spoken and barely any written Tibetan to his credit. He was under no illusion that this publication would not have been possible without Macdonald. ‘[M]y thanks are due to Mr. David Macdonald, who has revised this book throughout, and to whose unrivalled knowledge of both colloquial and literary Tibetan are largely due whatever merits the work may possess’.⁵⁷ This would prove to be an extremely useful set of handbooks for colonial officers working in the frontier regions that would go into second and third editions. For us the significance of these manuals lies in the fact that they give us a clear indication that Bell had every intention of becoming ‘Tibetanised’, but that he would need considerable help in realizing his ambitions.

After just a year in Darjeeling, Bell gained a new posting on Walsh’s recommendation in the neighbouring frontier town of Kalimpong, acting as Settlement Officer for the Kalimpong estate survey from 1901-03. This was a posting that enabled Bell to widen both his burgeoning networks and his Himalayan knowledge. Spangenberg makes clear in his critique of the ICS that settlement work; ‘provided greater acquaintance with local conditions than could have been

⁵³ Bell, “Disposal of the Dead Among the Limbus,” 27-28, “Ancestor Worships Among the Lepchas,” 28, and Bell and Kealy, “The Religion of the Khambus,” 28-29.

⁵⁴ Thanks to Harald Bechteler, who brought this to my attention, having supplied me with his own bibliography for Bell.

⁵⁵ Rhodes and Rhodes, *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵⁶ Macdonald, *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵⁷ Bell, *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*, unpaginated.

possible in other branches of executive administration'.⁵⁸ This was certainly true for Bell. We see his networks thickening in these two years. He would not only appoint Achuk Tsering and Palhese to his small staff, two men who, like Macdonald and Laden La would be critical to his success (see later in this chapter and Chapter 2), but he would also work with Kumar Palden (active 1901-1918), the son of Raja Tenduk Palger (d.1902), an influential landowner and supporter of the British.⁵⁹ Bell would also take this opportunity to embed himself into much wider networks, including those centred on the Scottish missionary Dr John Anderson Graham (1861-1942), who was an influential figure in the Kalimpong district.⁶⁰ As the settlement survey report shows, Bell and the men he worked with, had travelled extensively across the district pulling together richly detailed statistical data of a kind we have come to expect from the imperial project.⁶¹ It was during these district tours that Bell also visited the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in the area, visits he later recorded in his unpublished, *Book VI*.

The services in the Buddhist chapels, scattered over the hill-sides, with the bowls of incense, the flowers on the altar, the holy water, were the same as those followed in Tibet. And, how alike in many ways, to those in Roman Catholic Churches! The abbots, the prayers for the dead, the worship of saints, the robes and the rosaries, all were in these forest-clad hills. Apart from these there were other and more gruesome objects; trumpets made from human thigh bones and cups fashioned from human skulls.

While this entry tells us that Bell was beginning to read Tibetan religious objects as a way to comprehend Tibet, we also find the enduring influence of Waddell and his formative months in Darjeeling through Bell's choice of language. Despite the fact that Bell wrote this passage long after his retirement from the Himalaya, he still insisted on using the comparison between Tibetan Buddhism and Roman Catholicism - a comparison widely used by those westerners who wrote on Tibetan Buddhism in the early twentieth century – that was frequently used by Waddell and Bell's predecessor White.⁶² While Bell and Waddell never had the opportunity to work together and as a result Bell did not have the chance to learn directly from Waddell, it is clear that Bell studied his books intently (see Chapter 3). Despite Waddell's insensitivities over the portrayal of Tibetan Buddhism, his work resonated with the next generation of Tibetan scholars of which Bell was one.

⁵⁸ Spangenberg, *British Bureaucracy in India*, 156.

⁵⁹ Kumar Palden would go on to be the eleventh Chogyal of Sikkim's Judicial Secretary in 1918 and would write up the Sikkim Administrative report that recorded Bell's farewell speech in April 1919. See IOR, V/10/1977, Administrative Report for Sikkim, 1918-19.

⁶⁰ Graham's networks related not only to Scottish missionaries, but to tea planters, the Lepcha community and of particular importance the Bhutan Royal family and aristocrats, including Kazi Ugyen Dorji.

⁶¹ IOR, Eur Mss F80/239 Final Report on the Survey and Settlement of the Kalimpong Government Estate in the District of Darjeeling 1901-1903. By C A Bell Settlement Officer published 1905 by Bengal Secretariat Press. Rs 5 7s. 6d

⁶² See Waddell's, *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 14n, 59, 156 for example and John Claude White, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, 14.

Scholarship, writing and translating, these were all projects that could open up networks to a new arrival, while at the same time identifying an officer like Bell who had no Himalayan 'history' as someone who was keen to participate in the Tibetan imperial project. In these few examples we can see that Bell's interest in those activities that he would become so well known for began here in Darjeeling and Kalimpong, where he found an already dynamic and enmeshed network of scholars. In the small hillstation of Darjeeling, Das, Sherab Gyatso, Ugyen Gyatso, Waddell, Walsh and of course Macdonald and Laden La were all participating in well-established knowledge accumulation and production projects that Bell hoped not only to emulate, but to participate in.

While Bell's supervisor Walsh, with his assistant Laden La, and Waddell, with Macdonald, would be called up for the Younghusband expedition, Bell would not be asked to go.⁶³ But this did not mean that his future position as a Tibetan authority would go uninfluenced by this bloody watershed in Anglo-Tibetan relations. While Bell did not get the chance to march into Lhasa, he would be one of the first officers to benefit from a posting in Tibet following the signing of the Lhasa treaty in September 1904. Just two months after the signing, in November, Bell would find himself back in Chumbi valley, the site of his first illicit Tibet tour, as Assistant Political Officer. The Bell we will come to know, the officer who authored so many notebooks and diaries was not quick to show himself in Tibet, but in September 1905, as he reached the end of his posting, Bell began to write.⁶⁴ Bell would be defined by his writing, both his published works and his prolific diary keeping and note taking. The twenty-one volumes of his diary and the numerous notebooks have proved a rich source of detail for an endless stream of Tibetan studies scholars working in the most diverse range of subjects. The immediacy of his note-taking, substantiated by his often poor hand-writing, has made him a much relied upon, authentic source, not only in the retelling of the colonial encounter, but also in religious, historical and cultural studies of Tibet.

These early notebooks written in Chumbi show an officer learning his craft. They are at first chaotic for the untrained eye, with lines and lines of red pen, redirecting arrows and inserted boxes of extra details. Then suddenly we can sit by his side and watch as he starts to record what he was told. Reading through those first pages we see a novice. Bell is interestingly, despite his five Himalayan years, recording what seem to be the basics. He is making notes on how to make

⁶³ Macdonald would be instrumental in documenting the looted and bought objects that Waddell amassed during the expedition when they finally reached the Indian Museum, Calcutta in 1905. 'In Calcutta, my father spent most of his waking hours in the Indian Museum. He tells me that perhaps this is the one time in his life when he did really work. For hours he checked, classified, and entered manuscripts and objects d'art, unmindful of the hours until the curator remonstrated with the young man'. Macdonald, David J, "A Himalayan Biography," Private Collection.

⁶⁴ Bell, "Chumbi Valley Notebook."

Tibetan tea and Tibetan beer or *chang*, he describes grazing habits, the nomad's yak hair tents and also we begin to see his interest in Tibetan markers of prestige and hierarchy as he notes down the different classes of pony that should be ridden by a Tibetan official.⁶⁵ Those markers of Tibetanness that he noted down in the Chumbi valley are coupled with the more pressing colonial concerns for information on territorial boundaries, names for flora and fauna, the common illnesses in Tibet that could be treated with western medicine (thus garnering support from local Tibetans), and the names of local persons of power. These early entries do not automatically focus on religion or its practice, which had been such a focus for the Tibetan imperial project so far. Now that Bell had access to a very different Tibet the information he recorded detailed everyday nomadic life (much of it material), something he would not necessarily have had access to as a visitor to the Darjeeling and Kalimpong monasteries. These hastily compiled notes were the start of a personal Tibetan archive that would much later identify Bell as knowledgeable, as someone who knew Tibet.

It would be these jumbled accumulations of random pieces of information that would be the defining feature of Bell's ability to *know that*. These notebooks were difficult for Bell to assess at the moment of writing, but as it was throughout his career, he noted everything, never knowing what might become significant. Bell himself recognised the ad hoc nature of this enterprise, even calling a series of his notebooks, *Random Notes*. It would only become apparent in the future when that one detail, scrawled down in a notebook, would allow Bell in a memo or report to show himself as knowledgeable, an expert who had access to previously unknown facts. Here then was the true beginning of Bell, the Tibetologist. These were the notebooks and the diary entries that would grow exponentially in number and detail as he moved into the Gangtok Residency, and into the most prized posting in the north-eastern Himalaya - Political Officer of Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet.⁶⁶

Becoming a Scholar-Administrator: Bell and the Residency 1908-1918

It was clearly a surprise for his Political Department colleagues when Bell was appointed to the coveted post of Political Officer in November 1908. Men who had served on the Younghusband expedition or had come through the military system, like Frederick Marshman Bailey (1882-1967), the then Gyantse Trade Agent, were not altogether convinced of his credentials and in a letter home not long after Bell's appointment Bailey dismissed him as; 'a babu...possibly alright

⁶⁵ The two likely sources for several of the explanations in this notebook are Achuk Tsering (who is noted as a source) and Laden La as both men were in the Chumbi valley during Bell's time there.

⁶⁶ The first available diary, 'Diary Volume III' was penned in 1907 while he took a holiday, firstly in Canada then Japan and China, prior to him taking up the Gangtok posting.

[sic] in an Indian district but...not the man for the frontier'.⁶⁷ Physically, Bell was not cut from the same cloth as these men, his illnesses and his training made a career in covert surveillance, previously uncharted exploration and military expeditions impossible. Instead with his scholarly interests piqued by the Tibet-related imperial projects in Darjeeling, his survey work in Kalimpong and also with his first publications under his belt, he would fashion himself into a, 'scholar - administrator of ICS tradition, devoting his spare time to the study of Tibetan language and culture'.⁶⁸ Bells' diaries and notebooks bear witness to the hours he filled with study. He would review new Tibet-related books with the Tibetan aristocrat Palhese asking for clarification on certain statements,⁶⁹ and he would receive an increasing number of Tibetan manuscripts from highly respected lamas and Tibetan government officials that he began to study. Additionally, this was also a time when his collecting becomes visible to us through the archives. We see his realisation that those objects he had accumulated so far needed structure and order, they needed a catalogue.

Despite a posting to Gangtok being thought of as uneventful and perfect for study, a place where; 'no one cared, as for scores of years little if anything happened,'⁷⁰ the reality was very different during Bell's decade in charge. '[M]y work at the time was heavy, including not only Tibetan affairs, but also a close relationship with Bhutan, and the complete administration of little Sikkim'.⁷¹ Bell's new political base was dwarfed by its own fractious internal politics and the increasing volatility of its neighbours, Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan, who Sikkim had shared trading, familial and religious relations with for centuries. Within the first few years of his tenure Bell looked to settle some of the many differences that had been a feature of White's tenure. He would restore a growing number of Sikkim's state departments to the management of the Sikkim Royal family, reconfigure the Sikkim State Council, and rebuild British alliances with many influential Sikkim families who had been alienated by White. Furthermore, he would also lead a successful mission to Punakha in Bhutan, to sign a new treaty that would see Bhutan become a British India protectorate. But despite all this Bell did not have good relations with Lhasa.

Although concluded in September 1904 the Younghusband expedition still had unexpected consequences for Bell's 'Tibetanisation'. The ripple effect of the Dalai Lama fleeing into exile, firstly to Mongolia and then to the collapsing Qing empire in Beijing to avoid the advancing Younghusband army in 1904 would have consequences for many years. These traces

⁶⁷ IOR Mss Eur 158, Bailey letter to parents 3rd January 1909. Quoted in McKay, *ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶⁹ For example on the 16th April 1912 Palhese and Bell are discussing Ekai Kawaguchi's *Three Years in Tibet* (1909), and Palhese is disagreeing with several of Kawaguchi's views. Bell, "Tibet Random Note Book I," 49-50.

⁷⁰ Coen, *The Indian Political Service*, 248.

⁷¹ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 117

were clearly felt in Beijing in September 1908 when the Dalai Lama received new inferior titles from the Dowager Empress Cixi (1835-1908) during his stay there.⁷² The Qing saw this as the perfect opportunity to bolster their own position in Tibet in response to Younghusband's attempt in 1904 and so as the Dalai Lama made his way back to Lhasa in early 1910, 2,000 Qing troops followed, led by the soon to be new Amban Zhong Ying.⁷³ As the fighting began in Lhasa in February 1910, the Dalai Lama yet again ran for his life.

This chain of events, both in Sikkim and the wider Tibetan world would have a profound effect on what Bell collected and who he would study with. He gained access to a group of men who would act in many respects as his own private archival and interpretation team. Not only would they continue to work with Bell on his Tibetan language skills, but they would give Bell access to objects he may never have contemplated for his collection and they introduced him to new ways of thinking with things. Moreover, we will see that when it came to furthering his Tibetan knowledge, Bell now in a political position of power would very often take on the role of the subordinate in these individual relationships he cultivated. He would be the pupil learning from a number of great masters, each with defined skills and perspectives. The first of these masters would be the man who would arrive in British India on the 21st February 1910. His name was Thubten Gyatso, better known to us as the Dalai Lama.

Bell and the Dalai Lama's exile 1910-12

'If I could not go to Lhasa, one might almost say that Lhasa had come to me'.⁷⁴

The arrival of the Dalai Lama in Gnatong, a Sikkim border post on a cold February night in 1910, was clearly an unexpected boon for Bell's Tibetan education. By this time, Bell no longer had to make illicit trips into Tibet, but, unauthorized to travel there, Lhasa still eluded him and for Bell, 'Lhasa, [was] the heart of it all'.⁷⁵ In this Lhasa-less state, the sudden appearance of the Dalai Lama, the temporal ruler of Tibet and the spiritual head of the *Gelukpa*, into British Indian territory would go some way to compensate for the fact that he hadn't yet reached what was still for him an unknown city.

Bell was appointed as the Dalai Lama's chaperone and advisor on his arrival in Darjeeling, the town that would be his base for more than a year. He escorted the Dalai Lama to Calcutta to meet the Viceroy in March 1910 (see Chapter 4) and on their return he had rented the Lama a house, 'Hillside' on the outer limits of the hillstation. Bell took full advantage of his

⁷² See van Schaik, *Tibet: A History*, 184-185.

⁷³ Ho, "The Men Who Would Not Be Amban and the One Who Would," 211.

⁷⁴ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 118.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 263.

regular visits to Hillside and of his access to the highest echelons of Tibetan society, as he notes that he had approximately fifty ‘intimate conversations’ with the Dalai Lama over the course of his exile. His sporadic diary entries for this period allow us to observe how in just one sitting their conversations could swing from the subject of reincarnation, to the Dalai Lama’s wish to avoid migration from Tibet, to the planned visit of a Russian professor, to the locations of Indian holy sites found in Tibetan manuscripts.⁷⁶ We can also see the British Indian modernising or civilising agenda creeping into their conversations, with discussions on postal services, schools and Tibet’s existing trade treaties.

But our primary interest here is that we begin to see how Bell’s material knowledge began to form. On several occasions, before he climbed the stairs to have his conversation with the Dalai Lama, Bell records that he stopped to show the three Tibetan Lönchens or Chief Ministers who worked in the rooms below, the Buddhist statues that he had started to collect in Darjeeling and Kalimpong (see Chapter 3).⁷⁷ The appraisals they offered did not always make it in to the later *List of Curios*, but nevertheless, they gave Bell insights into how cultured Tibetan men thought through their material culture. One of these viewings took place on the 18th May 1910. He brought with him that day the six or seven statues he had already accumulated expressly for the Lönchens to see. Bell doesn’t give us the individual opinions of the men, but instead he notes a consensus of opinion on the grading of the statues placed in front of them. The ‘best’ the men collectively felt was a figure of Dorje Chang (figure 1.5),⁷⁸ who at that moment in time was clothed in a rainbow cover. Their reasoning for this selection was based on the statue’s composition that they told Bell; ‘has powdered precious stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, etc mixed up w.[ith] gold + silver in the brass’.⁷⁹ This type of knowledge relating particularly to metal composition marked the men as both literary and material scholars, for as we will hear shortly the attributes they identified represented rarity and great age as understood in important texts on the arts and crafts of Tibet. It would be these types of gradings that would be recurring, determining factors used to impress upon Bell the significance of the statues he now owned.

This was not the only time that Bell would be offered connoisseurial gradings for the Buddhist sculptures he had in his possession and just one week later, we see the beginning of a more detailed grading process in the gifting to Bell of two statues on the 23rd May and the 29th

⁷⁶ Conversation recorded for the 19th October 1910, Bell, “Diary Volume V,” unpaginated.

⁷⁷ The Lönchens were the three Chief Ministers of Tibet, Shatra, Shokhang and Tekang.

⁷⁸ *List of Curios* No 34, now in NML collection 50.31.58, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.58&mat=3&coll=1&page=1>

⁷⁹ Bell, “Diary Volume IV,” unpaginated.



FIGURE 1.5
Dorje Chang or Vajradhara
Tibet
13th – 14th century
National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.58

July 1910 respectively.⁸⁰ Following Bell's conversations with the Dalai Lama on each of those two days, the Lama would give Bell a metal statue of Shakyamuni Buddha (figure 1.6 and figure 1.7). Despite being given during tense political moments in their relationship, these Darjeeling Buddhas would become iconic markers of Bell's Himalayan life (see Chapter 3). Bell, having received the first Buddha, was instructed by the Dalai Lama that this was; 'one of his ancient images, said to have been brought from India, when Buddhism was first introduced into Tibet', and later on as he recorded the gift in his diary, Bell concluded the statue; 'appears to be really old'. The Dalai Lama's provenance would in fact be confirmed before Bell got back to his hotel room when he reached the bottom of the stairs at Hillside. There he showed the Buddha to the assembled crowd, which included the Lönchens, Palhese and Laden La, who was now in charge of the Dalai Lama's security.

Bell recorded again a collective response; 'that the image was brought to Tibet when Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in the seventh century i.e. over 1200 years ago'. Individually, Laden La pointed out the layers of gold gilt on the Buddha's face, explaining that this would be

⁸⁰ *List of Curios* No 68 and *List of Curios* No 70 both are in Private Collections. Bell records the date of the gift of No 70 in *The List of Curios* as the 29th July, but in his diary he notes it as the 30th July.

reapplied yearly, while this time it was Palhese who used the mixed copper composition to certify that the statue was of a great age.

The "sacred thread" which is red,⁸¹ is said to be of a kind of copper mixed with gold, silver and some precious stones, which used to be dug out of the earth, but the art of making it has been lost. It is called rang-chung-sang (self produced copper). The shape of the ear denotes its great age.⁸²

When the Dalai Lama was prepared to discuss the gift he had made a few weeks later, on the 4th June, he reiterated the opinions of the assembled group. Bell recorded that the Shakyamuni Buddha; 'was brought from India, when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, + has been kept in the Dalai Lama's private apartments in the Potala since the time of the 1st Dalai Lama'.⁸³

The singular, rare nature of this gift was however not enough for the Dalai Lama who insisted that Bell should have two Buddhas! Much later when writing *A Portrait of the Dalai Lama* Bell recalled; 'He gave me the first one when the party had been only three or four months in Darjeeling, and when giving it, said, "I am having another and better image brought from Lhasa for you."'⁸⁴ Bell would be given this new addition to his collection at the end of July and the Dalai Lama more composed at this meeting having just received gifts from the Viceroy of India, told Bell; 'there are no better Buddhas than this one in Tibet' (figure 1.7). His reasoning would again lie in the statue's perceived age, again represented by the use of the metal composite and this time its iconographic similarities to arguably the most sacred statue of the Buddha in Tibet, the Jowo Shakyamuni housed within the Jokhang. On that day the Dalai Lama was accompanied by a man Bell referred to as the *Lame Kempo* (Lamen Khenpo, personal name, Jampa Thubwang), Tibet's Head of Monasteries, its Chief Physician / Astrologer, and the Dalai Lama's confidential advisor and as Bell recorded in the *List of Curios*, the two men went on to validate their preferences for this statue in the following way.

The Dalai Lama and Lame Kem-po say it was made in Western India, being of copper gilt (ser-sang) while those made in Eastern India, they say, are made of white metal (li) and inferior. The Dalai Lama says that this image of Gautama Buddha is better than the one he gave me in May 1910 and that there is no better Buddha than this in Tibet. It is, he says, of the same quality as the large Buddha in the Chö-kang in Lhasa, which is supposed to have been modelled with Gautama himself as the model and like this one given to me, was made of gold, silver and precious stones i.e. turquoise, corals etc. ground up together. This kind of manufacture is known as "Dze-kyima"

⁸¹ The red edge of the Buddha's diaphanous robe has been misread as a sacred thread, it is not clear if it is Palhese or Bell who has misread the Buddha's drapery.

⁸² Bell, *List of Curios*, No 68. Now in Private Collection

⁸³ Bell, "Diary Volume IV," unpaginated. We will see this same provenance (private apartments or treasury, since the time of the 1st Dalai Lama) again, when we view the Ringpung saddle in Chapter 4).

⁸⁴ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 125.



FIGURE 1.6
Shakyamuni Buddha
Tibet / Nepal
14th century
Courtesy of Private Collection

We see something of a uniformity in the responses to these three statues (possibly as a result of Bell's own recording), but my interest here is in the repeated use of metal composition and its validating of great age.

All three of these statues have today been dated by western curators of Tibetan material culture as coming from much later art historical periods than those offered by the assembled men,⁸⁵ but what I am keen to highlight is that these Tibetan men took their own readings of these statues from several Tibetan scholars who had each written treatises on the arts and crafts of Tibet.⁸⁶ On all three occasions we see the men refer to the term 'dze-kyima', either explicitly or through the characteristics they attribute to the sculpture. The term the men refer to is described in detail by the Tibetan scholar Jigme Lingpa (1729-1798), as one where precious jewels are added to molten metal at the time of casting and as a result when the statue is held to the light, rainbow colours radiate. The statue Jigme Lingpa uses to illustrate this point is that also used by the Dalai Lama and the Lamden Khenpo to compare Bell's Buddha to - the Jowo Shakyamuni. This ability to ascertain quality and attribute age was one of the many skills that separated an uncultured man from a cultured one and knowing textual sources was a vital component in this type of material understanding. Although limitations of space don't allow me to stretch this argument further here, we see these same textual references through the use of the terms 'chogyal li-ma' and 'ser-sang' used again by another cultured and highly educated man, the Barmak Lama (see later and Chapter 2). It is no coincidence that the Barmak ancestral library - which was famed for its manuscripts before its partial destruction in 1975 during the overthrow of the Chogyal and the destruction of property that belonged to his supporters⁸⁷ - held copies of these treatises and Bell would take it upon himself to collect copies of Tibetan arts and crafts treatises from the Barmak Lama.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Comparative analysis using a western art historical perspective suggests the Buddha given on the 18th May dates to the 14th century, while the Buddha given on the 29th July has been dated to the 15th-16th century and both have a Tibet/Nepal provenance. Many thanks to John Clarke for his confirmations and opinions on both of the Buddha Shakyamuni.

⁸⁶ For English language sources see Rechung, "The Buddhist Paintings and Iconography According to Tibetan Source," for an overview of the qualities and dating of *li-ma*, *zikhym* and *ser-sang* metal statues and also von Schroeder's *108 Buddhist Statues in Tibet*, 18-19 for listings on significant works on metallurgy and the creation of Buddhist sculptures from Tibetan sources.

⁸⁷ 'the Densapa family home in Barmak was razed to the ground. Rare *thankas*[sic], *ikons*[sic], Tibetan brass and bronze, and ancient Buddhist manuscripts - a priceless collection matched only by the Namgyal Institute's treasures - went up in flames', see Datta-Ray, *Smash and Grab*, 184.

⁸⁸ Bell donated two manuscripts on the arts of Tibet to the British Museum in 1933, 'Rin po che bzo yi las kyi bsgrub pai rgyud dan ja dan dar gos chhen dan rta rgyud thsugs bzhan nan gyi rtag pa, and the bZod ris kha sas kyi pa kra lag len ma yod pa, see Barnett, "A Tibetan Collection of Books and Manuscripts," 12. These are now in the British Library.



FIGURE 1.7
Shakyamuni Buddha
Tibet / Nepal
15th – 16th century
Courtesy of a Private Collection

Here, Bell was getting an object lesson in Tibetan art history and aesthetics based on the country's literary sources.⁸⁹ This was a scholarly reading of objects that relied on textual knowledge of specific characteristics designated to particular metal casting techniques and metal inlays as opposed to a comparative reading of styles to create a chronology as favoured in western art histories for Tibet. The attributes of great age coupled with a provenance to the Dalai Lama's own apartments, a provenance that if one reads the *List of Curios* is used again and again as a marker of rarity and value, defined certain gifts including the Buddhas as inalienable or 'treasure'.⁹⁰ However one chooses to read the age of these statues today, Bell was, by the Dalai Lama and others, being educated in the ways that objects and particularly statues in this case, could be appraised, dated and valued. As Bell rightly said, this kind of collective appraisal process would have been impossible to find had Lhasa not come to him.

⁸⁹ Bell asked others questions of connoisseurship, including Sidkyong Tulku in March 1909 who comments on the printing of manuscripts in Derge and Percy Brown (Director/Curator of the Indian Museum, Calcutta) in May 1916 who advises him on the best periods for Tibetan metalwork. See Bell, "Tibetan Random Notes Vol. I," 1-2.

⁹⁰ See Weiner, "Inalienable Wealth," 210-227, where Weiner defines 'inalienable wealth' as, 'the value of an object and its ability to define a person, in terms of one's place in society and across history. She states, "The object acts as a vehicle for bringing the past time into the present, so that the histories of ancestors, titles, or mythological events become an intimate part of a person's identity'. Weiner. *Ibid.*, 210.

Bell, Kazi Dawa Samdup and Translating 'Religion of Tibet'

The impact of the Dalai Lama's arrival on Bell's ability to know Tibet would be immense, but his day to day concerns still lay with Sikkim and the Royal Family. When Bell arrived in Gangtok, the political restrictions put in place by White were still highly visible in the distinctive staffing arrangements that existed between the Chogyal's palace and the Residency. These two sites that represented very different ideological worlds still used the same men to administer their political and diplomatic affairs.⁹¹ As was the case with Macdonald and Laden La, the majority of these men had passed through a British India schooling system, their family's status or their teacher's British India alliances marking them out as future British India employees. Many of them had survived the White years and had worked their way through the ranks and now held positions of power and respect. Characteristic of these highly trained men who both Bell and the Chogyal would take into their trust was a man who had been one of the first boarders at Das's Bhutia Boarding School and a man who would go on to be recognised as a pioneer in the translation of Tibetan Buddhist texts into English, Kazi Dawa Samdup (1868-1922). He was the man who made possible one of the most iconic Buddhist translations for the western world, W Y Evan-Wentz's *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* (1927).⁹²

Samdup had been identified by both Das and Ugyen Gyatso as a potential British India candidate with his abilities in English.⁹³ Although family pressure meant that Samdup would become a British India employee rather than a monk as he hoped, he would nevertheless become a Tibetan Buddhist teacher to not only Evan-Wentz, but amongst others Alexandra David Neel (1868-1969), the French female explorer and scholar who reached Lhasa disguised as a Tibetan. In 1905, Sidkyong Tulku (with White's likely input) suggested Samdup for the post of Headmaster for the Bhutia Boarding School's outpost in Gangtok and he would translate and annotate, at the behest of White, the important *History of Sikkim* written by the ninth Chogyal and his wife the Maharani in 1908.⁹⁴ He would also act as chief translator to the British during White's and the Sikkim delegation's trip to Calcutta in 1905-06 for the Panchen Lama's visit. As White retired in November 1908, he wrote to Samdup and noted of his successor that, 'I think you will like Mr Bell'.⁹⁵ White had indeed rightly anticipated that these two men would have much in common. They would work together throughout Bell's tenure at the Residency, their

⁹¹ See Martin, "Sidkyong Tulku and the making of Sikkim for the 1911 Delhi Durbar," 7-32, for an overview of some of these influential men and their backgrounds.

⁹² Samdup was recommended to Evan-Wentz by Laden La in 1919, when the two met in Darjeeling. Laden La would later work on translations for Evan-Wentz's, *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*, finally published in 1954.

⁹³ See, Samdup, "A Brief Biography of Kazi Dawa Samdup (1868-1922)," 155-158.

⁹⁴ See Tashi Tsering, "A short communication about the 1908 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs."

⁹⁵ IOR, L/PS/10/C909, Kazi Dawa Samdup papers. White to Dawa Samdup, 1 November 1908.

efforts resulting in extended sections in Bell's 1931 publication *Religion of Tibet*. Bell having taken over White's projects followed Samdup's progress on the translating of the still today unpublished, but highly influential *History of Sikkim*, that offered an alternative history to the one that Risley and Waddell (with the help of Macdonald) had produced in the *Sikkim Gazetteer*. In 1911, Bell would select him as the English Clerk for the Chogyal for one of the greatest spectacles ever constructed in British India, the Delhi Durbar. Macdonald wrote to Samdup upon hearing of his selection, with not a little jealousy, that; 'I envy your good luck',⁹⁶ but he also understood the linguist skill's Samdup had and in the next breath urged him to complete the vocabulary he was working on, which Macdonald had no doubt; 'will be the standard work on the subject'.⁹⁷

From 1912-17 Bell and Samdup would regularly spend their Saturdays together working on translations and discussing texts. Samdup would work with Bell on the biography of Milarepa (the eleventh to twelfth century yogi and poet) in the lead up to his own publication on Milarepa in 1914. We find Bell reading and attempting translations of Milarepa's biography under Samdup's guidance.⁹⁸ These translation classes would later surface as the 'Milarepa' chapter in *Religion of Tibet* and Bell tells us; 'The late Da-wa Sam-trup, to whom reference will be made in the chapter headed Sources, read a large part of the Biography very thoroughly with me, and expounded its inner meanings'.⁹⁹

Bell was not only interested in texts relating to Buddhist teachings, but as might be expected he was also interested in the historical texts that had become available to him as a result of his diplomatic connections and his proximity to the Sikkim Palace. Having completed their work on Milarepa, Bell was already thinking ahead to his next project and as Bell returned from Yatung in 1915 he asked Samdup if he had read, 'the History of Tibet by the Fifth Dalai Lama or that by the Phola Techī'.¹⁰⁰ In December 1912 the Barmiok Lama had given Bell a copy of the

⁹⁶ See, *Ibid.*, Macdonald to Dawa Samdup 17 November 1911.

⁹⁷ This would be Kazi Dawa Samdup's, *An English-Tibetan Dictionary*, (Calcutta, 1919).

⁹⁸ See RSAA SC/Bell 3, *Biographical history of Jetsün Mila-Repa, fascicules I, II and III, edited by Dousamdup Kazi, Head Master, Bhutia Boarding School, Gantok. Published Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1914. Markings by Bell throughout with his signature to front cover and to fly-leaf.*

⁹⁹ Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, 80. These texts are now housed in the Charles Bell Collection at NML, see *The Extensive Biography of Milarepa: The Hundred Thousand Songs*, 50.31.107a <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.107a&collterms=50.31.107a&cat=colls&page=1&coll=1&csn=charlesbell&hi=True&hr=False>, *Invocation and Praise to Milarepa*, 50.31.107b, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.107b&collterms=50.31.107a&cat=colls&page=1&coll=1&csn=charlesbell&hi=True&hr=False>, and *The Biography of Milarepa*, 50.31.102a <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.102a&collterms=milarepa&cat=colls&page=1&coll=1&csn=charlesbell&hi=True&hr=False>

¹⁰⁰ 'Phola Techī', is Miwang Pholhanas, the 18th century Regent of Tibet during the time of the seventh Dalai Lama. Copies of this manuscript are now in the Charles Bell collection at NML, 50.31.1

manuscript, *The History of Tibet: The Feast of Perfect Youth, Melodies of the Cuckoo*,¹⁰¹ which Bell was now discussing with Samdup. By June 1916, Bell was starting to commit himself to this next translation project and it is here that we see the limitations of Bell's language abilities and his reliance on men like Samdup for the material that he would fill his books with and for which he would receive such glowing praise from his peers.¹⁰² We also see that Samdup knows only too well that his skills had a cash value when Bell asks; 'what would [be] your charge for translating this History of Tibet by the 5th Dalai Lama (113 sheets)? A typed translation would be preferred. The translation should be simple one, i.e. not ornate'. As we will see later with Palhese (see Chapter 3), Bell was willing to pay cash for his access to Tibetan culture, an interesting insight, when we consider the unequal power balances we are so used to seeing in the colonial context. Bell understood that the skills Samdup had, a man who did not come under Bell's direct control, were well worth paying for. But Samdup it seems drove a hard bargain and having given Bell a price for the work just a few days later, Bell, in the weaker position, had to haggle with Samdup for his services.

Please return the History by the 5th Dalai Lama unless you are willing to reduce your terms. I'm sorry that I cannot afford your price. I can offer only two rupees per sheet, the dedication + poetry being omitted, +only the plain history part translated. I should of course provide the paper. The translation need not be typed. If these terms suit you, please keep the History + let me know, + I will send you the paper¹⁰³

There are no further letters on how this negotiation was resolved, but we do see translations from this text finding their way into *Religion of Tibet* and, so we must presume that a deal was done, as yet again there is an acknowledgement for Samdup.

Relevant portions of the leading histories so received have been translated for me by Mr Negi Amar Chand,¹⁰⁴ Mr David Macdonald – who speaks and writes Tibetan more easily than English – and Rai Bahadur Nor-bu Dhon-dup.¹⁰⁵ A great deal has been done by Mr Tse-ring Pün-tso and most of all by that tower of learning, the late Kazi Da-wa Sam-trup¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ The Lama would also advise Bell in September 1912 on the best historical documents to read. See "Tibet Random Notes Volume 1," 33.

¹⁰² Bell never hid this fact stating, 'I obtained rather a good command over the spoken language, in addition to reading and writing it a little'. Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 158.

¹⁰³ IOR/L/PS/10/C909 Bell to Samdup 7 July 1916.

¹⁰⁴ This man had also either worked with or had been schooled by Samdup. There is a reference to him in Samdup's *English-Tibetan Dictionary* where he is referred to as, 'a bright Tibetan scholar from Bashahr [Kinnuar] State who had studied Tibetan in Sikkim since 1915', quoted in Dodin, "Negi Lama Tenzin Gyaltzen: A Preliminary Account of the life of a Modern Saint," 94n.

¹⁰⁵ Norbu Dhondup, was educated in Darjeeling and worked in the Gyantse Trade Agency in the 1910s, he travelled to Lhasa to support Bell, following the death of Achuk Tsering in November 1920.

¹⁰⁶ Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, 199-200.

In 1917 as Bell perhaps began to anticipate his retirement, his requests to Samdup on the subject of further translations increased. From March until September 1917, they would work intensively together. ‘And through long hours of instruction, untouched by a single dull moment, he taught me to understand some of the salient features of this complicated religion’.¹⁰⁷ They would work on three texts, *Ser dong Chempo*,¹⁰⁸ *Deb gter sngon po* or *The Blue Annals*,¹⁰⁹ and *Lho'i chos 'byung* or *The Religious History of Bhutan*,¹¹⁰ all of which would unsurprisingly to us now, feature extensively in *Religion of Tibet*. Collectively these translations made a significant contribution to Bell's fourth publication finding space in several chapters of the book. Bell recognised that his work for this book was heavily indebted to not only Samdup, but to several men who we will meet during the course of this thesis. Bell was not the first British India officer to acknowledge the assistance of Himalayan men in the writing of a book, but Bell's chapter in *Religion of Tibet* entitled ‘Sources’ opened up not only to Bell's contemporary readers, but now again to us the extent to which the complex process of textual gifting, reading and translating had made Bell's writings possible. Here in this chapter of appreciation we see Lönchen Shatra, and the Dalai and the Panchen Lama, all cited as givers of manuscripts, while a role call of men are shown to have helped Bell with his translations. This transparency it could be argued rather than diminishing his persona as an expert was a determining factor in him becoming ‘an authority without peer’.¹¹¹

Bell, the List of Curios and 'Barmiak Lama'

In the late summer months of 1912, following the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet, Bell found himself surrounded by new objects. He had decided not only to keep a substantial number of Tibetan manuscripts that he would later work on with Samdup, but also twenty of the gifts he had been given, most of which had come from the Dalai Lama himself. At almost the same time that we come to hear of Bell's tutorials with Samdup, Bell also came to the realisation that he needed to make sense of his now growing collection by providing a structure for recording not only who had given him the object, but moreover the attached knowledge they had given him.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 207.

¹⁰⁸ This text has not been identified, but it is likely to be *Gser gdung 'dzam gling rgyan gcig* by Desi Sangye Gyatso, a full catalogue of the fifth Dalai Lama's golden mausoleum.

¹⁰⁹ Two copies are now in the Charles Bell collection in NML, 50.31.111, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.111&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=13> given by Lonchen Shatra and 50.31.109, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.109&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=13> subsequently given by the Dalai Lama.

¹¹⁰ There is a copy of this text in the Charles Bell Collection at NML, 50.31.100 See <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.100&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=13> given by Ugyen Wangchuk. The translation made by Dawa Samdup, dated 1918 is now in the Tibetan manuscript collections of the British Library, having been donated to the British Museum by Bell in 1933.

¹¹¹ Shuttleworth, ‘The Religion of Tibet (Reviewed Work),’ 1072.

He would take this inventory project one step further and again as with his manuscript projects he would take the opportunity to learn from others. The end result would be the *List of Curios*.

I will argue that Bell was not a natural-born cataloguer, and I would like to suggest here that we can see Bell's initial efforts to create this object inventory in the one-line non-technical description of each object that appears at the beginning of almost every catalogue entry in *List of Curios*. If we take for example entry No.4 we find it described as, 'A piece of horn joined by string to a piece of bell metal shaped something like a saucer'. Not terribly inspiring or enlightening, and I think not unkind to suggest that this was a trade mark of Bell's cataloguing style. While he didn't have a flair for this particular kind of knowledge accumulation, he was by no means reticent in asking those who clearly understood the multiple ways an object could be read to help him. Bell having already witnessed these descriptive skills in the presence of the Dalai Lama and the Lönchens (and also being well aware of Waddell's object contextualisation) he would once again take advantage of his proximity to the Palace by asking a scholar who had been appointed to tutor Sidkyong Tulku if he would also tutor him in how to read and record objects.¹¹²

This particular knowledge project began as Bell records; 'In Christmas week 1912 the Barmiak Lama came to explain the meaning of those Tibetan curios which were concerned with religion'.¹¹³ 'Barmiak Lama'¹¹⁴ or to give him his proper title, Barmiok Jedrung Karma Palden Chogyal (1871 - 1942) was amongst other things Sidkyong Tulku's Buddhist studies tutor (see Chapter 2). He was a religious man who commanded great respect across Sikkim for his scholarly knowledge and coming from one of the most important Lepcha families in Sikkim he was cultured and widely read. Unlike the negotiations over knowledge transmission with Samdup and the contextual material in Bell's notebooks and diaries for the Dalai Lama's exile, we are almost completely reliant on the *List of Curios* to furnish us with an understanding of how these object tutorials enhanced Bell's Tibetan (material) knowledge. Sitting with the Lama Bell recorded, in many cases verbatim, the Lama's enthusiasms, uncertainties and expertise on each of the objects he was shown. This was done not without some reference to the Tibetan tradition of knowledge transfer, that is, there was little difference in this process from that employed by a senior Lama passing on his knowledge to a young initiate or from a *lama mani* (itinerate lama storyteller) using a *thangka* (educational, medical or meditational painting) to tell a Buddhist story.

¹¹² There is only time to deal with one scholar here, but another notable scholar, Sidkyong Tulku's 'Chinese tutor', offered Bell a very different set of skills that related to reading Chinese material culture, particularly jade and porcelain.

¹¹³ Bell, "Diary Volume V," unpaginated.

¹¹⁴ There are several variations on the spelling of Barmiok, for example, Burmiok and Bermiok. I will use the preferred spelling of Barmiok unless I am quoting from Bell directly, in which case I will revert to the spelling he used which is Barmiak.



FIGURE 1.8
mtshun pa spun bzhi or Four Harmonious Brothers *thangka*
 Tsotra Namgyal
 Early 20th century
 Chumbi Valley, Tibet
 Courtesy of a Private Collection

We see this use of a *thangka* as educational device vividly in Barmiok Lama's discussion of the 'Four Harmonious Brothers' *thangka* painted by Gyalse Kusho of Taring (better known as Tsotra Namgyal) (figure 1.8), for his younger brother Sidkyong Tulku, which would then be given as a gift to Bell shortly after his appointment to the post of Political Officer.¹¹⁵ The Lama begins:

Formerly in a country in India known as Ka-sha (?Benares) an elephant, monkey, hare and bird became fast friends. After some time finding that they were treating each other on terms of equality, they agreed that it was fitting that the eldest should be treated with most respect, and then the next eldest and so on.

And so the Lama goes on to tell the story of how the four brothers found out who was the oldest and in doing so, the country they lived in became harmonious and prosperous. He concludes, 'Since that day pictures of this kind are made to show the need for mutual concord and

¹¹⁵ *List of Curios* No 143, now in Private Collection. It is worth mentioning the deft political skill found in this gift. Gyalse Kusho had, like his father, been a vehement opponent to White, his participation in this gift from the Royal family suggests at this early stage a reconciliatory act towards Bell.

abstaining from evil, for in this way a country becomes happy'. Barmiok Lama tells this Buddhist *jataka* tale as it was intended, he does not explain the iconography of the painting in front of him, nor does he comment on the aesthetics of the piece, instead he uses it to instruct. As with Samdup and as with the Dalai Lama and the Lönchens, Bell sat with the Lama of Barmiok and learned as he listened.

If we read through the 142 descriptions provided by the Lama between December 1912 and March 1913 we see that Barmiok Lama's object discussions centred around two particular cataloguing styles that on occasion also made use of this storytelling device we have just witnessed. Some like the *thangkas* we shall now look over were treated in primarily an iconographic framework, while others were viewed through an ethnographic lens. These 'scrolls' as Bell often called *thangkas* tended to be treated in a particular way by the Lama, in that their use was rarely focussed upon, but instead he gave detailed, lengthy descriptions of their iconography. Not unusual is the extended description style of entry No.7, a *thangka* showing Padmasambhava in the Copper Coloured Mountain (figure 1.9).¹¹⁶ Starting with the chief image, in this case Padmasambhava, Barmiok Lama spiraled outwards (circumambulating as one would a sacred Buddhist site) and went on to point out to Bell, the figures that surround him. The Lama's skill in reading the *thangka* is obvious,

To the side of the king of the east are 4 goddess (Lha-mo) The one on the extreme left carries water in a conch shell for the saint's ablutions, next to the right, one with a mirror in her right hand, which she holds up before the saint, as required. Next to the right (on the other side of the King of the east) is a goddess with a pair of cymbals, who regales the saint with music. The fourth's duty is to offer fruit to the saint; she holds a fruit in her right hand. There should be a fifth goddess holding clothes for the saint, but there being no room in the picture, the artist has placed these clothes in the left hand of this fourth figure.

Barmiok Lama knew intimately, the correct iconography and what is in this case missing and what the *thangka* painter should have included. He points out to Bell the significance of the offerings and their sensorial abilities and he not only discusses the attributes, but also the meanings, which in this case are tied to colour.

the red marks on the top representing flames, as he used to be often surrounded by flames.
The green circles around the heads of Padma Sambhava and his avatars represent rainbow halos.

These rich, enlightening descriptions could run to more than a thousand words, and opened up new ways of understanding and identifying that Bell could not have found in any English language book in 1913.

¹¹⁶ *List of Curios* No 7 now in Private Collection. See Jeff Watt's discussion of this particular type of *thangka* at, <http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=491> (accessed 18th November 2013).



FIGURE 1.9
Padmasambhava in the Copper
Coloured Mountain
Tibet
18th century
Courtesy of a Private Collection

As for the ethnographic approach, if we return to the piece of horn and metal attached to a string we learn that on Barmiok Lama's first visit he tells Bell that it is actually called a;

Ting-sha (ཉིང་ཤ་) colloquially and ting-ting-sha in books, from the sound of the bell "ting ting". Sometimes the striker, as well as the bell itself, is made of bell-metal. Used in various religious ceremonies, e.g. when giving food to Yi-daks [hungry ghosts], this ting-sha is sounded to summon the Yi-daks to the meal.¹¹⁷

As we see here Barmiok Lama animated Bell's collection, with his descriptive practices providing performative and religious contexts and insights into the origins of the object's name. Bell could not have compiled this kind of information without a significant understanding of Tibetan Buddhist practice and its literature. Through the Lama, Bell's 'curios' lost their curious nature, instead becoming actively involved in the Lama's practice. Now through these descriptions Bell

¹¹⁷ *List of Curios* No 4. Location unknown. *Ting-shag* is actually the Tibetan word for hand-held cymbal.

had some insight into the significance these ritual objects held and he also now had the ability to identify many figures, *mudras* (hand gestures) and symbols found in the *thangkas* he owned.

In the words of Fred Myers, we have been given through these vignettes an insight into various ‘regimes of value’.¹¹⁸ The descriptions and objects that we have turned to show the multiple voices that have since been subsumed under Bell’s own. But more importantly for our task here, the descriptions offered by these men illustrate the multiple ways in which objects and texts could be understood and the many learning processes that Bell went through in order to reach that awareness. The project that resulted in the *List of Curios* would in the end give Bell a deep and wide appreciation for Tibet’s material culture and just as importantly it would highlight the many ways that Tibetan objects could be valued, especially by the Tibetan and Sikkimese men who had viewed them. This period was unmistakably, a vital component in his becoming ‘Tibetanised’ and it offered Bell complex ways of reading Tibet’s material world.

‘Lhasa at Last!’ 1919-1921

Bell officially retired on the 15th March 1919. Knowing he would be too ill to return to work, Bell had already asked Macdonald to start alerting those men who he had worked with and learnt from, amongst them the Dalai Lama, the Lönchens and the Gongsas or ruler of Bhutan that he couldn’t carry on. As a result letters poured into the British Trade Agency at Yatung where Macdonald was now posted, begging Bell not to retire. Macdonald laid out these beautiful, respectful letters, written on handmade paper on the agency desk and then he translated them for Bell.¹¹⁹ Typical of the responses, was that of Ugyen Wangchuk.

I was much grieved to hear this news as if my own parents had died. From the beginning up to the present time, you have succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Tibetans, the Bhutanese and the Sikkimese, and everything has been done very satisfactorily during your incumbency. All these good results are due to your kindness. You have rendered particularly valuable assistance to us. You are the benefactor of Bhutan. You have been extremely kind to us all. My earnest hope is that you may stay with us as long as you live¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Myers, *The Empire of Things*.

¹¹⁹ It should be noted that all the letters sent to the British Indian government from the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government were sent to David Macdonald first for translation. His political knowledge and diplomatic skill in producing these translations cannot be underestimated, see for example NAI, Foreign Department, 1919, No.6, 1-17, during the intense period of communication as a result of the fighting between Tibetan and Chinese troops in eastern Tibet.

¹²⁰ NAI, Establishment, May 1919, Nos.55. Deposit. *Translation of letter which His Holiness the Dalai Lama, His Highness the Maharaja of Bhutan and the leading Ministers of the Tibetan Government have written to Mr C.A Bell CMG late Political in Sikkim.*

Bell had no intention of leaving just yet. He and his young family did not take the first available P&O steamer back to England, but instead in April 1918, they moved back to Bell's first Himalayan home, Darjeeling.¹²¹ Here, Bell tells us; 'I completed the second edition of a Tibetan grammar and Tibet dictionary, in the hope of rendering the study of the spoken language somewhat more easy for others than I myself had found it'.¹²² This would yet again be edited by Macdonald and then following it reissue in separate parts in 1919 and 1920, would be reviewed by his first Himalayan mentor Walsh in 1922. Bell was also beginning a new phase in his 'Tibetanisation'. While we can see from the notebooks and diaries that he continued to keep that he hadn't stopped learning, by 1918 his personal knowledge accumulation project had reached a tipping point. He now felt confident enough to begin the process of transmission and was ready to share with others what he had learnt. We then also see him sitting down to write what would become his first book, *Tibet, Past & Present*.¹²³ However, this would have been a very different book altogether, if a few months later he had returned home to England and had missed out on one of the most momentous events in his life.

At the end of September 1919, six months after retiring, we find Bell in Simla. He is there, unable to stay away from the political issues facing Tibet, to read over the Foreign Department papers on the continuing questions over Tibet's status. Increasingly there were problems left unresolved after the collapse of the discussions surrounding Tibet's independence at the 1913-14 Simla conference between Tibet, China and British India that Bell had been a part of (see Chapter 4). He stayed for a month and while his intentions may have been to gather up-to-the-minute information for his book project, he was also clearly making one final push for Lhasa. He had already seen off a direct challenge from Louis King, stationed in Tachienlu (now Dartsedo) in eastern Tibet, to his automatic appointment to the leadership of any future Lhasa mission,¹²⁴ and now, in Simla, with the ear of Dobbs, the Foreign Secretary, he had confirmation

¹²¹ The family appear to have been staying at The Elms, see telegram in, NAI, Establishment, May 1920, Nos.284-299. Part B. *Appointment of Mr CA Bell CMG CIE ICS (retired), as Political Officer, Sikkim (provisionally) on his former pay and allowance with full annuity from 15th January 1920, with permission to take over charge by telegram.*

¹²² Bell, *Tibet: Past & Present*, 3.

¹²³ He seems to be discussing the idea of writing this book with his colleagues. Achuk Tsering for one, seems to offer encouragement by dismissing the work of previous scholars who Bell had been so influenced by, 'R[ai] B[ahadur] Achuk Tshering [sic] tells me that Col. Waddell's lama (who worked with him for a long time + told Achuk Tshering [sic] that he, Col. Waddell was compiling a book), was not very learned. His name was Lama Pema Chöphel + he was Tibetan teacher at the Bhutia Boarding School at Darjeeling [he was likely Achuk Tsering's teacher]. He did not know much Tibetan literature', Bell, "Diary Volume VI," (23rd February, 1918), unpaginated. Bell would become increasingly critical of Waddell a man who had so influenced Bell in the early days, for example when Bell reached Lhasa he went to the Tsuglagkhang doring (or stone pillar) to test Waddell's translation against 'ours' ('ours' being the work of Tsendrön, the Dalai Lama's Peak Secretary, Tashi (Tsering) Babu, clerk from the Gangtok Residency and Norbu (Norbu Dhondup) and also, 'Kandrön son of late Künsangtse and member of Kashag'. 'Tashi Babu pointed out fifteen places in which Waddell's transcription differed from ours', the conclusion was that, 'Waddell was clearly wrong in every case'. Bell, "Diary Volume XI," 16th July, 1921, unpaginated.

¹²⁴ Lamb, *Tibet, China & India 1914-1950*, 125.

that there would finally be a mission to Lhasa. But there was one last hurdle, O'Connor, the old friend of the ninth Panchen Lama and the official interpreter to Younghusband during the eponymously named expedition.¹²⁵ But Bell was to win out, he had the support of the Viceroy and following the unexpected retirement of Bell's replacement Campbell and Bell's reappointment to the post of Political Officer in January 1920,¹²⁶ he would get the approval he had been waiting almost twenty years for. Bell gathered his old colleagues around him at Macdonald's base in Yatung and waited.

That summer in Chumbi valley, a tiny slither of Tibetan land that separated Sikkim from Bhutan, was a productive one. So much so, that we see Bell keeping two notebooks simultaneously.¹²⁷ In August 1920 alone, we find Raden Lepcha, Bell's 'Photography Orderly', taking record shots of Tibetan currency and medical implements while Bell makes descriptions of these with the help of Palhese.¹²⁸ Also with Palhese he discusses the fabled Phalha robes that he will later see in Lhasa. Alongside all this, Bell always in search of manuscripts and knowing that his wait in Chumbi valley might be a long one, had decided on an ambitious summer project by turning his attention to the *Epic of King Gesar*. This oral masterpiece, of a heroic warrior-king from Ling, was and still is sung across central Asia, passed on as a tradition performed by bards often from parents to child. As each rendition was as unique as the bard who sang it, this was quite a literary challenge for Bell. 'There are no printed copies of it in Tibet, and but few manuscript copies'.¹²⁹ He may have known the epic from the work of August Hermann Francke, the great Moravian missionary scholar stationed in Ladakh, whose work Bell admired.¹³⁰ But it is just as likely that the idea came from either Palhese or Macdonald, as Bell already had notes and translated excerpts from the epic; 'made for me by Mr. David Macdonald of Yatung, Tibet, from a manuscript copy of the Ke-sar Drung (folio 156) lent to me by Ku-sho Pa-lhe-se of Lhasa'.¹³¹ By the 11th August 1920, they had begun to make some progress with Macdonald and Bell sitting down to discuss the epic with Enchung, a Tibetan curio dealer who would be described in a photograph's note as; 'a travelling curio dealer who was one of Macdonald's informants'.¹³²

¹²⁵ Bell, "Diary Volume VI," 30th October, 1919, unpaginated.

¹²⁶ Bell was reappointed on a considerably raised salary of Rs. 3150, (retired on Rs.2350), due to his special qualifications, see NAI, FD, Establishment, May 1920, Nos.284-299.Part B.

¹²⁷ Bell, "Second Book on Tibet Note Book I, and Second Book on Tibet Note Book II." Private Collection.

¹²⁸ Bell, "Second Book on Tibet Note Book I."

¹²⁹ Bell, *The People of Tibet*, 10.

¹³⁰ Francke, *A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga*, (Calcutta, 1905). Francke would send the first Tibetan Bible published in 1910, for corrections to David Macdonald. In *The People of Tibet*, Bell includes an annotated bibliography, in it he describes Francke's *A History of Western Tibet* as, 'A scholarly, trustworthy book', x.

¹³¹ Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, 14n. Bell also records that Macdonald has made the notes and translations in, Bell, "Second Book on Tibet Note Book II," 31.

¹³² See David Macdonald Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum. Cited in McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, Plate 2, between 134-135, also cited in Harris, *In the Image of Tibet*, 31.

Enchung, was making a copy of a Gesar manuscript for Bell, but as they began to read it, it became clear that the copy was incomplete. Nevertheless, there was enough for Macdonald and Enchung to explain to Bell the narrative arch of the story, and Bell seemed to be a little surprised by its contents. 'It seems to consist almost entirely of challenge + reply in rather boastful language...Actual fighting is mentioned from time to time, the Lings of whom Kesar is King, being victorious'.¹³³

Bell seems initially to be a little taken aback by this, as his impressions, which are later crossed through, note; 'No mention of Buddhism or Buddhist doctrines...It seems all to be about fighting and power' and he concludes, 'it seems that the Saga was written at any rate before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet'.¹³⁴ This reaction perhaps shows us that Bell's Tibetan knowledge is still less authoritative at this stage than it would appear later in his published works and that his lack of contact with Khampas and Amdowas, the Tibetans from eastern Tibet and particularly Tibet's nomadic communities is quite obvious from his reaction.¹³⁵ Macdonald and Enchung do their best to convince Bell that this is an important aspect of Tibetan culture telling him; 'that it is very popular among the people of Tibet, "because it tells of war and fighting, the language is forceful and in a tuneful metre and the drung [saga] is very old"'.¹³⁶ Perhaps Bell was still to be convinced, as a week later on the 19th August, Macdonald arrives with a woman, a Tibetan Gesar bard, whose father was renowned for his epic storytelling. Before she began her recitation, she told Bell the significance of the story and how her father used to keep the huge Gesar manuscript in front of him as he sang in chantable. She also validated this art-form by telling him how the gentry, officials and lamas would come to listen. For the next six pages of his notebook, Bell records the substance of her recitation and at the end concluded; 'This woman recited the Saga with a good deal of gesture + with evident pleasure. She clearly took great interest in it and the personality of Kesar'. It is not obvious from this if Bell really grasped the significance of Gesar, or the reason for its popularity, but thanks to Macdonald he could at least appreciate the skill of the performer. The lack of Buddhist context clearly confused him and it challenged to a certain extent what he thought he knew about Tibet. While many of the religious-historical texts that Bell would work with featured extensively in *Religion of Tibet* this episode would fill a very particular niche. Bell would use this recitation to explain something of pre-Buddhist life in Tibet, it seems he could not reconcile himself to the fact that this tradition could live alongside Buddhism.

¹³³ Bell, "Second Book on Tibet Note Book II," 29.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Khampas and the nomadic peoples of north-eastern Tibet are the Tibetans most closely associated with Gesar.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 30-31. Bell repeats this exact phrase in *Religion of Tibet*, 12, describing his source as, 'Tibetans'.

Finally, as winter drew in and it looked like they would have to turn back, permission was given to proceed to Lhasa. Almost twenty years after Bell took his first illicit steps into Tibet, he would catch sight of Lhasa on the 17th November 1920. ‘At 11.45am got first view of Potala ... A little further on I took a 3A photograph, but it is hardly likely to make anything of a picture of these’.¹³⁷ Bell was typically lacking in superlatives in his response, but this was the start of the final chapter in his ‘Tibetanisation’ and for Bell it would be the most important of all, quite simply because it was taking place in Lhasa. He would show a little more nostalgia for the moment in *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*.

Lhasa at last! The Dalai Lama and Tibetan Government had wished it, and I had wished it, and at length our mutual wish was fulfilled. It was an especial pleasure to think that I was the first European who had ever visited Lhasa at the invitation of the people themselves, in fact, after repeated invitations from the Dalai Lama and the Government. As matters turned out, I was destined to stay there longer than any other Westerner had stayed for a hundred and seventy-five years.¹³⁸

Bell was well aware of the historic significance of his visit, he was the first western man to be (repeatedly) invited to Lhasa by the Dalai Lama and on several occasions, he tells us that he (and, or Robert Siggins Kennedy, the IMS officer who joined him) was the first white man or European to bear witness to a particular event or ceremony. Although he had requested to return home to Cashie after just a month, Bell and the mission would stay in Lhasa and the surrounding area for eleven months. He was given all the privileges of a Chief Minister or Lönchen, a title that Bell himself had requested and the mission was allocated a beautiful, but modest aristocratic house called Dekyi Lingka on the outskirts of Lhasa. This in later years would become the British Mission outpost in the city, complete with a raised union jack and an English country garden.¹³⁹ From here Bell took regular horse rides through Lhasa with Palhese and his new Lhasa guides Colonel Netö, a Gyantse magistrate who had escorted Bell from Gyantse and the monk official Kusho Tsendrön who was the Potala Secretary. Bell would visit the most important monastic institutes in Lhasa including the Sera, Drepung and Ganden monasteries and he would make several visits to the most sacred space in Lhasa, the Jokhang. He would be invited to all the major festivals of the year, including *Losar* or New Year celebrations that stretched out over several days and the *Shoton* or yoghurt festival a celebratory time for opera and picnics in Lhasa’s summer month of August. Bell and his party would also see first-hand the political intrigues of the city during the annual display of the butter sculptures at the

¹³⁷ Bell, “Diary Volume VII,” (unpaginated). Private Collection.

¹³⁸ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 253.

¹³⁹ The stunning dufay colour images taken by Hugh Richardson, between 1936-50 illustrate the idyllic nature of Dekyi Lingka, see for example, http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo_BMR.6.8.261.html (accessed 16th February 2014).

Mönlam Chenmo or the great prayer festival. Death threats against Bell were posted in Lhasa in response to his support for the Dalai Lama's modernising agenda and he would be strongly advised to take a trip to Reting monastery, two or three day's journey from Lhasa, while the Dalai Lama and the Lhasa army dealt with a rebellion by the Drepung monastery.

This singularity meant that Bell now had to put into practice, with absolute precision, his twenty years of Tibetan learning. This more than any other was a time when he needed to show that he *knew how* and not just that he *knew that*, knowing how to do the right thing, knowing the rules of the encounter were vital. With the devastating death of Achuk Tsering just days after Bell's mission arrived in Lhasa, he was left without one of his most trusted diplomatic advisors (see Chapter 2). However, accompanying him, as he had done for seventeen years, was Palhese, whose guiding hand we can see throughout Bell's eleven months in Lhasa. Bell and Palhese had met in Kalimpong in 1903 (see Chapter 2), and as will become obvious in the coming chapters, Palhese understood the ways in which the Tibetan aristocracy saw the world and how they expected the people that inhabited it to behave. Bell did not instinctively know what to do in Lhasa; he did not know what the norms of behaviour were. Bell may well have spent extended periods in the Tibetan provinces, but Lhasa was the metropolis, and now he needed a crash course on the intricacies of Lhasan etiquette.

Knowing through gestures would be a significant marker of Bell's 'Tibetanisation', and these 'correct' gestures would be recognised and rewarded by those who could read them. When Bell attended the second day of ceremonies for *Losar*, Bell had again been well briefed, standing, bowing and offering at the correct times and in a respectful manner, unlike the Nepalese representative, who only engaged in these gestures half heartedly.¹⁴⁰ There were gestures made in return too, that were too imperceptible for Bell to grasp, but these did not pass Palhese by.¹⁴¹ A result of Bell's willingness to engage with this Tibetan worldview was that:

a letter came from the Dalai Lama thanking me for observing Tibetan custom during my attendance at this ceremonial of the New Year. Also another letter saying that he was giving Palhese a lease of the Serchok estate for a further period of three years, perhaps as a reward for having taught me the Tibetan language and customs so well¹⁴²

Bell in two more, far grander, gestures also left some material evidence of the lessons he had learned in Lhasa. These grand gestures were both gifts, in essence for the Dalai Lama, but which in their respective ways would benefit the wider Lhasa community and solidify the presence of

¹⁴⁰ Bell, "Diary Volume VIII," 84.

¹⁴¹ Palhese tells Bell, 'It was generally noticed that when I presented my Khata to the Chikyab Kempo for the D.[alai] L.[ama] the latter put his two palms forward towards me, an honour which he shows to nobody but the Chinese Amban'. *Ibid.*, 84-85.

¹⁴² Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 309

the British India government on Tibetan soil. Many miles and the highest mountain range in the world away from the British India government, these examples show just how sophisticated gift giving could be for individual British officers, who did not have to make allowances for the diplomatic and political manoeuvrings that influenced the gift giving acts we will see later (in particular Chapter 4).

The first of these gifts was decided upon soon after Bell's entrance into Lhasa. It was a necessary reaction to the British India mission's relatively short notice arrival from Chumbi valley and the party's obvious lack of gifts for the Dalai Lama. Something that went against accepted Tibetan gift giving protocols.

My servants brought in my few presents and laid them before him. When meeting Tibetans you must give presents freely, and when meeting those of exalted position you must indeed be lavish. But I had come here at short notice on instructions cabled from London, and I had started on my journey from the Chumbi Valley, far from the resources of civilization. So I followed the procedure proper in such a contingency, and handed to the Dalai a list showing the presents that I was now giving to him, and those that I would give afterwards¹⁴³

This gift was also it seems in part a reaction to the uneasiness felt by the Chinese and the Nepalese representatives at Bell's presence in Lhasa.¹⁴⁴ Bell did not want his good relationship with the Dalai Lama and the Lhasa government undermined by malicious rumour mongering from political rivals. Therefore this gesture, it was hoped, would also bolster the perceptions of Bell held particularly by the Lhasa monastic elites.

Bell was aware that one of the more meritorious and costly aspects of the Dalai Lama's personal gift giving was the donation of monies (approximately £3,500 in 1921) for the lighting of butter lamps, particularly in the Potala and Jokhang.¹⁴⁵ Bell had also been made aware during the Dalai Lama's British India exile that; 'To religion, not necessarily his own religion, a Tibetan attaches the utmost importance. When a mutual friend told me that the Dalai Lama regarded me as a religious man, I knew that this would bring us closer together. He wished all to be earnest in their own religions'.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, two weeks before the decision to give his gift Bell witnessed with Palhese and Colonel Netö a 'Thousand Offerings' in the Jokhang, which included the offering of one thousand butter lamps. And so, only two days after Bell and Palhese's conversation on the politics at play in Lhasa, Bell records:

¹⁴³ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 261.

¹⁴⁴ See Bell, "Diary Volume VII," (20th December 1920) for discussions with Palhese on the Chinese and Nepalese attitudes to Bell's arrival.

¹⁴⁵ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 188.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 136.

I'm presenting a gold butter lamp to the Chö-kang on behalf of the G[overnment] of I[ndia]. It weighs 56 3/4 tolas [652 grams] of gold & this fact is recorded on the inscription. I am making the presentation through Palhese, who will first have to take the lamp to the state Record Office in the Chokang[sic] for registration & then hand it over to the chapel authorities. A receipt for it will be given to him.¹⁴⁷

This was a highly nuanced gesture that particularly pleased the Dalai Lama, who on hearing of the intended gift involved himself in the process by arranging for one of his own goldsmiths to make the butter lamp for Bell. This allowed Bell to put all of his allowance into the gold and not the making, resulting in a much bigger, more obvious and more meritorious gesture. This gesture clearly marked Bell as a man who not only understood Tibet, but who understood the sacrosanct nature of its belief systems. Having been rushed to Lhasa by Bell following Achuk Tsering's death (without the permission of the British India government), Macdonald saw Bell's butter lamp burning in the Jokhang and much later in his own memoirs recorded:

Before the altar in the Holy of Holies are many golden butter-lamps, which are kept burning day and night. Among others I noticed one presented by Mr Bell. It was thoughtfulness displayed in this and in similar ways that made Mr Bell so popular with all classes of Tibetans.¹⁴⁸

Macdonald also added, 'Almost every object in the Chokhang has its own history',¹⁴⁹ and now thanks to Palhese, Bell (and the British India government) was part of that history, the British presence was, quite literally, stamped on the face of a butter lamp, that would sit in front of the most revered statue in Tibet, the Jowo Shakyamuni. There could have been no better place to announce Bell's 'Tibetanisation'. He understood this gesture would have a lasting impact and while Bell would eventually return home, his presence in, and association with Tibet would remain. He would not only know Tibet, but the people of Lhasa would continue to know him through his gesture.

This would also be true of a very different and particularly theatrical gesture that Bell made during the *Shoton* festival in August 1921,¹⁵⁰ as he came towards the end of his eleven months stay in Lhasa (figure 1.10). *Shoton* was second only to *Losar* in the Tibetan calendar for ceremonies and performances with its emphasis resting on several days of *Ache Lhamo* or Tibetan opera. A number of troupes from across central Lhasa would converge on the city and then, commissioned by the Dalai Lama, they would perform the plays - taken from Buddhist teachings

¹⁴⁷ Bell, "Diary Volume VII," (22nd December 1920).

¹⁴⁸ Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 243.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ See Bell, "Diary Volume XI," and Hugh E Richardson, *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year*, for a description of this festival.



FIGURE 1.10
 'Gya-za Pe-za being performed at my Ache Lhamo'
 Photographer, Rabden Lepcha
 Lhasa, 12th August 1921
 Courtesy of a Private Collection

and Tibetan history - that they were particularly renowned for.¹⁵¹ Following the Dalai Lama commissioned performances, several of the troupes would perform for some of the leading families in Lhasa, and Bell tells us;

I gave a theatrical (ache lhamo) entertainment lasting for three days to some thirty or forty of my Tib[eta]n friends, the total number entertained, including servants being 70 to 80. For custom prescribes that the servants of those invited shall also be fed.¹⁵²

As Bell records in his diaries, many of the leading families had their own props and exquisite costumes that were lent to the troupes for the performances, but Bell having no equipment of his own again relied on Palhese to ensure his gesture was perfectly presented.

Tsarong Shap-pe, Palha Kenchen + Ngar pö Shap-pe, who is related to Palhese are very generous in lending me silk hangings, cups, cooking utensils, etc etc¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ See *Lungta, Journal of Tibetan history and culture* for an overview and history of *Ache Lhamo*.

¹⁵² Bell, "Diary Volume XI," 12th August 1921, unpaginated.

¹⁵³ Bell, *Ibid.* The Dalai Lama provides the costumes, "The DL is lending the actor's dresses for this. The actors have their own dresses, but when a high official gives a theatrical party, he lends the actors + actresses their dresses, either from his own storerooms, or after borrowing from his friends. Those owned by the DL are of course especially fine. Bell, *Ibid.*, 31st July 1921, unpaginated.

Palhese also made the performances possible, negotiating on Bell's behalf for the troupes that would perform and then organising them into the strict order that they should perform in. When the Dalai Lama also sought to intervene, Palhese was yet again on hand to make sure that Bell's response was the right one.

At this stage I receive a request from the Chung-ri-wo-che troupe – the DL's favourite troupe, - that they may act one day before us. Palhese says that the DL has told them they may ask me, but he cannot say what my answer will be. Palhese is sure that the DL will be very pleased if I engage them. So I agree to do so, thus making the entertainment one of three days instead of two.

These gestures whether big or small marked Bell as someone who knew Tibet, and in return his actions were acknowledged by Tibetans, with between 500-2000 people, both monastic and lay attending each of his three *Ache Lhamo* performance days.

When it came time for Bell to leave Lhasa on the 19th October 1921, his departure was commemorated on the streets of Lhasa, by a street song, one of the most important mediums for conveying news, current affairs and the prevailing feelings of the people in a media-free city.

He who comes from a long distance,
The guest who has white hair
Outwardly he wears foreign dress,
And shows a stern face;
Inwardly he helps our religion and our Government.
We have come to know that he is
Lonchen Bell
May he live long!
May he be free from illness!
May he succeed in all his works!
May he obtain the threefold perfection (grace, glory and wealth)!¹⁵⁴

But, the most gratifying of those acknowledgements would for Bell come from the Dalai Lama himself. When the two men met for the last time on the 16th October 1921 the Lama would present Bell with a choice group of gifts, but it was the Lama's parting words retold to us through Bell that are significant. They convey Bell's sense of pride that in the eyes of the Dalai Lama himself he had become, 'Tibetanised'.

The DL's last words to me were, "My great hope is that you will return to Lhasa as the British representative (ku-tshap), to complete the Treaty between Britain, China and Tibet.

We have known each other for a long time + in you I have complete confidence, for we two are men of like mind (na gnyis mi sems gchig pa red). I pray that you may return to Lhasa".¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 380.

¹⁵⁵ Bell, "Diary Volume XIII," 16th October 1921, unpaginated.

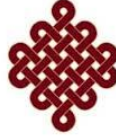
Notes on a Collector

This biography of knowledge making has taken us a step back from the threshold of Bell's collecting activities to a moment prior to the reassembling and recoding of both the objects and the scholarship he collected. Here we see through intimate cultural encounters the material and intellectual contexts of collecting that Bell inhabited on the frontiers of empire. Fellow museum and/or cultural anthropologists, even those blessed with what is considered exceptional collection documentation, have struggle to make this leap back and have recently begun to ask the question why. Ter Keurs, now Head of Research and Collections at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, in his introduction to an edited volume on colonial collecting wonders why we so often know the name of the collector - from which a picture of their movements and in some cases collecting activities can be traced out - but then; 'why so few remarks can be found on the circumstances of collecting'.¹⁵⁶ Constructing the collector was just as important as the constructing of the collection and with ter Keurs' own reading of these omissions we can begin to see how these very specific episodes of material and intellectual knowledge building failed to find their way into publications and reports. The emergence of the academic field of anthropology and the role of scientific exploration did not allow for the personal, the subjective, or the individual in these increasingly professionalized areas of study. For collectors like Bell who wrote his books some years after the fact, for audiences and publishers who still valorized the empire and its officers; '[d]escribing the purchase of objects through middlemen is probably a lot less interesting for the European reader than a confrontation with a 'primitive native'.¹⁵⁷ The knowledgable lone officer or collector who stood at the centre of a web of knowledge was still the preferred trope of empire.

Bell undoubtedly pushed against that imagining, recognizing those who had enabled him to know Tibet in his published works. This alternative biography, although not entirely obvious to the reader of his published works, can still be pieced together through readings of multiple sources. Despite the possibility of reading beyond this particular colonial collector's name, due to his rather uncolonial-like practices of recording, the experience of empire and the very personal impact of colonialism had as we shall see as we turn to the next chapter, a profound effect on both what and who Bell knew.

¹⁵⁶ ter Keurs, "Introduction: Theory and Practice of Colonial Collecting," 12.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*



Significant Others

Charles Bell's 'local knowledge' on the Anglo-Tibetan frontier

If you are not in sympathy with the mind of your employer
Though you be skillful in working, the result will be but small¹ - Palhese

[M]y twelve years in this frontier have been twelve years of unalloyed pleasure...It is indeed
good to work among such friends² - Charles Bell

While Bell may have been new to the inner workings of the Himalaya when he arrived there in 1900, the men he would go on to build alliances with, take council from and who would effectively share his working life with him for the next twenty years were not so innocent. They already knew the intrigues, protocols, opinions and politics that abounded on the borderlands of British India and Tibet. These Tibetan, Sikkimese and Bhutanese men were amongst other things adept cultural interpreters, incisive political negotiators and above all they were Bell's way in to a complex and very different society from the one he had known on the plains of India.

Their contributions to the object catalogues, notebooks entries and translation projects that we have already seen clearly illustrate Morgan's belief that; 'The traces of the colonized are inscribed in the margins of the colonizer's discourse',³ a conclusion he came to in his chapter on early colonial contact with indigenous communities. While I agree with Morgan, I also want to challenge the use of such monolithic terms, including 'local knowledge', 'informants' and

¹ Tibetan proverb told to Bell by Palhese, Bell," Diary Volume 14," 8.

² IOR, V/10/1977, Administrative Report for Sikkim 1918-19. Charles Bell's speech on the 5th April 1918, 'Thirty years of Progress', during investiture of full administrative powers from the Viceroy to the eleventh Chogyal of Sikkim, Tashi Namgyal.

³ Morgan, "Encounters between British and 'indigenous' peoples, c.1500-c.1800," 62.

‘intermediaries’, for whichever homogenising expression we choose to use it spectacularly fails to grasp the complexity of the men who have been given this label, taking little notice of their individual agendas, experiences and expectations. If we ask ourselves how local was ‘local knowledge’ it becomes clear that the men Bell considered pure in their ‘local knowledge’ and were valued differently because of their separateness, were in fact highly mobile men who travelled vast distances. They were open to far greater external influences and networks than Bell himself was. So we should ask where exactly was their knowledge local to? It becomes ever clearer that they were neither suspended nor rooted in worlds, but they negotiated their way through a multitude of different existences adjusting their actions, their affiliations and in some cases their appearance in order to operate in the spaces they found themselves in.⁴ Bell was noted for recording the names of the men he received information from and he did to some extent acknowledge the roles played by those he worked with.⁵ Yet, the extent to which Bell relied on these men and the differing types of knowledge and support they provided him with has until now remained largely uncharted. So why has this marginalising effect been so comprehensive and why is ‘local knowledge’ merely a footnote in the rethinking of the Anglo-Tibetan encounter?

Firstly, the pervasive colonial issue of memory loss and the silencing of the multiple voices recorded in the imperial archive had a profound effect.⁶ The accepted methods, the ‘disinterested’ or objective style of the much constrained reporting system required of the Political Officers when sending information up the chain of command to their superiors meant that the source of that information would very likely not make it into the final report. The clamour of voices and perspectives that had been collected in order to build knowledge or make sense of a situation were essentialised or silenced. Those individual voices became a whisper, sacrificed for the approved singular colonial voice. McKay also adds in his seminal work on Anglo-Tibetan relations that; ‘While memoirs by colonial officials usually pay them a brief tribute, the contribution of the intermediaries has been largely forgotten by history. In common with other marginalised groups or social classes in the imperial process - including British subordinates - their ‘voice’ has been historically submerged beneath those of both imperial and

⁴ Cross-border dressing was a feature of this particular encounter with men from both the Tibetan and the British India side of the border being noted or photographed in the clothing of their counterparts.

⁵ Not everyone was completely happy with the recognition they received from Bell. David Macdonald complained in a handwritten report now in the family collection that, ‘I would add Sir Charles Bell should in due courtesy have mentioned in his books about the role I played specially when for that purpose he sent for me and sought my advice and help and to utilise my good offices and unique hold over the Tibetan dignitaries and specially over the Great 13th Dalai Lama who used to consult me very often as an oracle’.

⁶ See Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* for a discussion of the imperial archive and Derrida, *Geneses, Genealogies, Genres, and Genius: The Secrets of the Archive* for his thoughts on the authoring and constructing of archives.

indigenous empowered social classes'.⁷ The names of the men we will come to know a little better in this chapter *are* found in the draft memos, demi-official letters and private correspondence that very often make up the bulk of a submitted file. Yet, it is rare to find their names appearing on the official inventory record or index of the colonial archive and finding them in amongst the boxes full of foolscap papers becomes akin to finding the proverbial needle in a haystack.

Beckenridge and van der Veer, Dirks, and Ludden threw out the notion that there was such a thing as a monolithic imperial project or a monolithic subaltern response.⁸ Instead, they began to search out and find those proverbial needles proving that the creation of early colonial readings of India and the knowledge building exercises that accompanied them were heavily reliant on 'native informants'.⁹ Wagoner, a decade later, agreed, but he contested the postcolonial idea that, 'tended to see native scholars merely as "informants", providing raw data with which active Europeans produced colonial knowledge', instead he favoured, the 'collaborationists', who, 'have instead viewed these indigenous intellectuals as active partners in the process, bringing their own forms of knowledge and epistemic regimes to the dialogue'.¹⁰ The thinking that lies behind this chapter leans towards the views of the 'collaborationists' and the active agency of the men Bell worked with, but it also takes into account the colonial conditions under which these relationships were formed.

Secondly, despite the growing interest in the Anglo-Tibetan encounter and its emergence at a time when post-colonial theorising and subaltern studies had gained a significant place in the discussions surrounding imperialism and South Asian history, the study of the 'subaltern', or those outside the dominant power structure, has still received little attention in the field of Tibetan Studies. This lack of concern was so apparent that Hansen entitled his 2003 paper, *Why is there no subaltern studies for Tibet?*. In this incisive and well timed article, Hansen asked why twenty years after the publication of Ranajit Guha's *Subaltern Studies I* had so little work within the field of Tibetan Studies been undertaken. At that time he found some answers in the writings of both Shakya¹¹ and Lopez¹² who both interpreted this lack of engagement as a symptom of the continuing preference for the colonial era's orientalist predisposition for textual analysis of

⁷ McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, 131.

⁸ Breckenridge, van der Veer, and Dirks. *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* and Ludden, "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge."

⁹ Dirks, "Colonial Histories and Native Informants," 280.

¹⁰ Wagoner, "Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge," 784.

¹¹ Shakya, "Who Are the Prisoners?"

¹² Lopez Jr, *Prisoners of Shangri-la: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* and *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism*.

Tibetan Buddhism and by extension Tibetan culture and society that excluded more critically aware anthropological practices. Shakya was critical of the fact that;

in the field of Tibetan or Buddhist studies, where much of the narrative relating to Tibet is enunciated, questions drawn from critical studies on the postcolonial discourse have never been raised. Tibetan studies still continues along the lines of an orientalist descriptive mode, with no trace of the new line of enquiry that has developed in western theory.¹³

Tibet was, of course, never a colony of British India and while this is true and perhaps while this offers a further reason for why there are no subaltern studies for Tibet, it should be clear that British India did not view the mechanisms it used or the information it gathered on Tibet any differently from that regarding India. So this critical engagement with Tibet, demanded by Shakya, is more than valid. We should also bear in mind that the labels ‘informants’ and ‘subalterns’ continue to be uncomfortable ones for those who knew some of the men we will discuss here,¹⁴ especially when we take into account that the work these men carried out for the British in India was just one aspect of their lives. Despite this marginal position in the colonial context they were much more than ‘informants’, and in the very places that Bell worked in these men were also known as community leaders, aristocratic landowners and men of influence in their own right. Well known amongst their own communities it is only in their work for the British that they become ‘subalterns’ or ‘intermediaries’.

Whether the lack of interest in these men is down to theories or academic concerns is open to debate, but what is clear when trying to carry out research on these men is the sharp contrast in the survival of archival material when comparing private records in the UK with those in India. Although many families based in the UK who descend from these men have undertaken their own genealogical research there are others in India for whom family archives have been lost, disbursed, ignored or even destroyed. For men like Achuk Tsering and Palhese a generation or two has passed; family members who maintained the oral traditions and records have died and the information they held on the men we are interested in has died with them.¹⁵ In some cases, family lineages have been forgotten and names are only half remembered by the

¹³ Shakya, “Who Are the Prisoners?” 181.

¹⁴ As Nicholas and Deki Rhodes make clear in their book on the life of Deki’s grandfather, Laden La. They did not like the use of the term ‘intermediary’ to describe Laden La, ‘He did more than that, however, as he was a leader, not only of his Sikkim Bhutia community in Darjeeling, but also of all the local hill people’, Rhodes and Rhodes, *A Man of the Frontier: S.W. Laden La*, 4.

¹⁵ I visited Kalimpong in October 2010 and again in April 2013 to connect with the families of several men who Bell worked with. Here in this great frontier town, where the names of many of the most influential Himalayan men of the early 20th century are still talked about in laudatory, if nostalgic, terms, the families of these men are coming to terms with the fact that they have lost their family histories, the families of David Macdonald, W P Rosemeyer and Achuk Tsering have retained few if any documents relating to their families and are now looking for the (foreign) researchers working in this area to furnish them with details on their family members.

great-grandchildren who remain, making the task of understanding these men, of understanding their contributions that much more difficult to render.

With these theories, but also these very practical constraints in mind it is the aim of this chapter to answer Morgan's call for, 'profiles of these crucial individuals',¹⁶ by fleshing out (in some instances for the first time) those rather stilted photographs we find of them in Bell's photographic albums. We will see who these critical figures were in Bell's intellectual network and not only how these men forged relationships with Bell, but how they operated in the Anglo-Tibetan borderlands of the eastern Himalaya, moving between their own worlds and those of British India. This was a Himalayan contact zone, where the influence of British India weakened the closer it reached its nebulous borders. This was a space where the knowledge and experiences of influential Himalayan men were appreciated, acknowledged and rewarded by British officers like Bell. As Morgan notes, it will become clear that neither, "we" nor "they" are fixed, but rather are constantly negotiated and renegotiated, encompassing a multitude of shifting boundaries and subjective identities... People had many loyalties, many allegiances. For this reason, if no other there never could be a single, unitary or monolithic British encounter with indigenous peoples'.¹⁷

In order to understand Bell and his own knowledge related projects for Tibet we will focus on the 'profiles' of just three influential men, who in significant ways 'Tibetanised' Bell.¹⁸ Although they came from different worlds on the Anglo-Tibetan borderlands each made a profound contribution towards Bell's ability to know Tibet. Diplomatically, materially and aristocratically they collectively enabled Bell to negotiate the Himalayan frontiers. Each of these three men do feature in the *List of Curios*; some are present throughout, their voices strong and clear, while others appear coincidentally almost. What their inclusion shows us is that despite their differing expertise Bell's collecting project encompassed a diverse range of men who brought equally diverse ways of knowing to Bell's attention.

¹⁶ Morgan, *ibid.*, 52.

¹⁷ Morgan, *ibid.*, 45.

¹⁸ For those readers who know something of Bell's many alliances, I would like to justify my reasons for only selecting three men to profile in this chapter. Notable exclusions here are the thirteenth Dalai Lama, David Macdonald and Sonam Wangfel Laden La. Confined as I am by word limits, it would actually be possible to write a thesis that consisted only of profiles of those men Bell worked with in the Himalaya. In this case the decision was made to focus on the men who had left no other (auto)biographical account of themselves behind, in order to bring awareness to men like Achuk Tsering and Barmiok Lama and in the case of Palhese to, for the first time, have a detailed record of his connection to Bell during his successful tenure. Where time and space have not permitted a profile I have in other chapters highlighted the specific contributions of Laden La, Macdonald and the Dalai Lama during specific events.

Rai Bahadur Achuk Tsering – ‘A very wise Sikkimese gentleman’¹⁹

Rai Bahadur Achuk Tsering...quiet and shy, but shrewd always, he developed political insight that grew steadily year by year, and helped to train me in reply to the training that I gave him²⁰

It would be impossible to discuss Bell and his understanding of Himalayan politics and diplomacy without first discussing his ‘right hand man’, Rai Bahadur Achuk Tsering (1877-1920) (figure 2.1). Despite his constant presence beside Bell for nearly twenty years, the biographical data we have for Achuk Tsering is frustratingly slim. Dying tragically young at 43, having just reached Lhasa in December 1920, he would likely have had no thoughts of writing his autobiography before he set out for Tibet in the winter months of 1920. According to his descendents, who still reside in the house he built in Kalimpong, his diaries and notebooks were taken and disbursed during the funeral of his son, the well-known Kalimpong based Central Intelligence Bureau officer, Lha Tsering and so we have no personal road into his thinking and so instead we must rely on the records generated by the British in India to build a shadowy picture of his working life.²¹ Recorded in the *Who's Who* of the British India Himalayan frontier, *The List of Chiefs and Leading Families in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet 1915*²² we learn that Achuk Tsering was born into a respectable Bhutia family in 1877.²³ Like many promising young Sikkimese men of his generation whose family already had links to the British he was sent to the Bhutia Boarding School in Darjeeling to receive his education. Established in 1874, by the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal Sir George Campbell (1824-1892) and supervised by the then Darjeeling Deputy Commissioner, Mr (later Sir) John Ware Edgar (1839-1902) the school's publically proclaimed aim was to provide a good quality education that combined Tibetan language and religion with English subjects such as mathematics and English language, preparing the boys for work in British India's government institutions. Knowing that Das was the school's headmaster it should be clear that there was a further unspoken incentive for the establishment of the school. The tacit intention was to train intelligent Bhutia boys, who could pass as Tibetans, for undercover surveillance work in unmapped Tibet.²⁴ While the school features

¹⁹ Bell, *Tibet: Past and Present*, preface.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 245.

²¹ A short newspaper article traced the life of Achuk Tsering's daughter-in-law and provided just enough information to locate the family. See Moktan, “Ms. Methuselah of the Mountains,” 5.

²² Thanks to Tashi Tsering, Director of the Amnye Machen Institute for giving me access to several additions of the *List of Chiefs and Leading Families in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet* that began in 1907 and went on to 1933.

²³ The medal cabinet containing Achuk Tsering's British India medal, also contains a Sikkim 1888-89 medal, suggesting that his father worked for the British during the border skirmishes with the Tibetans.

²⁴ See Waller, *The Pundits: British Exploration Of Tibet And Central Asia*, 193 and Rhodes and Rhodes, *ibid.*, 8.



FIGURE 2.1
Achuk Tsering
Around 1914
Courtesy of a Private Collection

regularly in the *curriculum vitae* of the men Bell worked with, there is little evidence of their participation in covert surveillance work and there is no indication that Achuk Tsering was selected for such work even though he was instructed in surveillance techniques.

Having completed his studies at the school he was recruited into the services of the British India government in 1896, where Bell recalled much later that, 'he was one of several clerks in a small countrified Government office'.²⁵ Five years after his appointment, Bell, still new to the area in 1901, was searching for men who might become the basis of his administrative support and seeing potential in Achuk Tsering he pulled him out of his provincial Darjeeling office to work on his and Bell's first major assignment, the Kalimpong Land Settlement. This was an exhaustive survey of the Kalimpong district undertaken between 1901-03 that recorded not only the trade, businesses and products of the town, but covered more contentious issues of rent, taxation and the settling of land disputes.²⁶ Achuk Tsering must have impressed his officer in charge as he was called up again by Bell almost immediately to act as the interpreter/surveyor for the Ammo Chu road expedition between March and May 1904. This Younghusband-related expedition was designed to map out a new cart road into the Chumbi

²⁵ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 245.

²⁶ IOR, Eur Mss F80/239. Final Report of the Survey and Settlement of the Kalimpong Government Estate in the District of Darjeeling, 1901-1903, by C A Bell, ICS.

valley that would avoid the high Himalayan passes and would instead follow the Ammo Chu valley that ran through western Bhutan down into the Duars (the plains of the Darjeeling district). If a route could be negotiated it would conveniently, for the British, link the Chumbi valley to the Bengal-Dooars Railway. This was difficult and dangerous work spanning the humid heat of the lower elevations to the extreme cold of the Himalayan passes.²⁷ The most challenging aspect of this work would not be climatic but diplomatic, with the Bhutanese officials in the area strongly opposed to the British party's arrival. Bell glosses over the tensions in his British India authorised book *Tibet: Past and Present*, when he simply notes; 'I was fortunate enough to be able to push through Bhutan to Tibet in spite of Bhutanese opposition'.²⁸ Bell talks of his good fortune on several occasions, but Bell was also methodical in his preparations and he consulted those who knew best the political landscape of the areas he was entering. In this case, the success of the pioneering party's progress through Bhutan, then down into the Chumbi valley appears to have rested with Achuk Tsering.

Bell, on reporting to the British India government in 1909 in preparation for his diplomatic mission to Bhutan for the signing of the Punakha Treaty, recorded that; 'I have found Achuk Tsering Babu's advice in the matter extremely useful from his knowledge of Bhutanese ways and ideas, and, if I go into Bhutan on this work, it is he, who will accompany me'.²⁹ Achuk Tsering was becoming an emerging talent in Anglo-Tibetan diplomacy and no sooner had he completed his surveying work then he was dispatched as an interpreter for the final stages of the Younghusband punitive expedition, although it is not clear who he interpreted for or if he reached Lhasa on this occasion. His precise involvement in the expedition may still need to be recovered, but what we do know is that he received the Tibet medal for his services.³⁰

Achuk Tsering was highly mobile at this moment in his career, moving between postings. Bell was also yet to establish himself in the Himalaya and both men were can be seen still finding their place in Anglo-Tibetan frontier administration. We do find glimpses of Achuk Tsering moving in the right social and academic circles, an important mechanism for raising his profile and making sure the close knit colonial circles of Darjeeling and Sikkim knew of his own

²⁷ John Claude White recalls the conditions as he progressed via the Ammo-chu valley in March 1905 on a tour into Bhutan that, 'the snow and wind were so bad that Colonel Burn, of the 40th Pathans, commanding at Chumbi, took thirteen hours between Champitang and Chongu, a distance of ten miles, and had to abandon his transport; and two days later my party found the bodies of two coolies out of a batch going to work on the Am-mo-chhu Survey, who had perished from exposure to the cold on the top of the Natu-la'. White, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, 106.

²⁸ Bell, *Tibet: Past & Present*. 2.

²⁹ NAI, FD, Secret. E. May 1910, Nos. 208-262. Part A.

³⁰ Unfortunately, Achuk Tsering's Tibet medal on its original ribbon, viewed on the 5th October 2010 does not offer up any further clues as to where and when he served during the Younghusband punitive expedition. The Tibet medal comes in two forms, one with and one without an additional silver bar that reads, 'Gyantse'. The bar denotes participation in the fighting at Gyantse that lead to the final push into Lhasa. Achuk Tsering's medal does not contain this extra bar.

aspirations. In 1906, for example, we find him registered in the distribution list for the newsletters of ‘The Buddhist Shrine Restoration Society’, the Panchen Lama’s newly assembled society whose members included well known western Buddhist and Tibetan scholars, including William Rockhill, Sven Hedin, M Aurel Stein and members of Sikkimese and Bhutanese royalty.³¹ Professionally, it seems that he may have spent a short time working with Bell in the Gangtok Residency when he acted as Political Officer for Sikkim in the latter half of 1906.³² Achuk Tsering’s next recorded posting would be in the Chumbi valley. Bell notes; ‘For two years he worked with Major Campbell in the Chumbi valley and the latter used to tell me that he had no secrets from him, even in matters of the most confidential nature’.³³ Lieutenant (later Major) William Lachen Campbell (1880-1937) worked for extended periods between November 1905 - July 1908 as Assistant Political Officer and British Trade Agent, Chumbi. He was unusual amongst British India officers in that his language skills included Chinese and that he had far better relations with his Chinese counterparts than his Tibetan ones.³⁴ Achuk Tsering stationed in Chumbi valley in a post-Younghusband era would have witnessed the diplomatic tensions that arose between the British and the Chinese following the punitive expedition and its subsequent withdrawal and he would have been privy to the diplomatic snubs and skirmishes that bubbled over between the Manchu empire’s officials and the British officers.³⁵ After the Ammo chu survey and the Younghusband expedition Achuk Tsering was no stranger to diplomatic unpleasanties, but this time spent in the Chumbi valley would most probably have been his first sustained encounter with Manchu officials. This experience would not only have added to his growing political acumen, but would stand him in good stead when a decade later, he would be called to Simla, to assist Bell during the eponymously named conference.

Details and dates are still decidedly few and far between for these first few years, but when Bell was appointed to the post of Political Officer, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet in October 1908, Achuk Tsering becomes a significant presence, as one of Bell’s first staff appointments to the Gangtok Residency was Achuk Tsering as Confidential Clerk. It seems that Bell had also considered trying Achuk Tsering for the post of British Trade Agent, Yatung, but quickly changed his mind, deciding to keep his opinions and expertise close at hand and instead he gave the Yatung posting to David Macdonald.³⁶ As the quote at the beginning of this profile suggests, both men learned from each other at this early stage. As Bell gathered notes on the alliances and

³¹ SSA, Department of Darbar, SI No: 7 File No: Nil/1906

³² Bell, *Tibet: Past & Present*, 94.

³³ NAI, FD, Secret. E. May 1910, Nos. 208-262. Part A.

³⁴ See McKay, “The Establishment of the British Trade Agencies in Tibet: A Survey,” 391 – 421

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Bell, “Sikkim and General Notebook.” 221.

animosities established in the Sikkimese aristocracy as a result of White's tenure, Bell turned to Achuk Tsering to get a second opinion on the sometimes severely jaundiced views he receives from opposing parties.³⁷ And when plans began to materialise for the mission to Bhutan in early 1909, Achuk Tsering would be his first choice to accompany him on a mission that would see Bhutanese foreign relations turned over to the British, out of reach of the encroaching Chinese.³⁸ By outlining the course of this mission, we can understand much better the type of role Achuk Tsering played for Bell.

Achuk Tsering was already occupying a prominent position in establishing the etiquette and protocols well before the mission party left Gangtok. As the final details were confirmed, he was advising and discussing with Bell the issue of gift giving and the need to match what was considered to be the over-generous gifts of White - who had made his own missions to Bhutan in 1905 and 1908 - in order to maintain and establish Bell's prestige. As we shall see again in the Anglo-Tibetan gift exchanges of Chapter 4 guns were an important topic of conversation and Achuk Tsering advised Bell to add to his gift list a cache of not particularly accurate magazine rifles. '[A] kind called "The Rough Rider", sold, he says, for about Rs, 200/- each, having a magazine holding five cartridges, rather inaccurate'.³⁹ This then was a perfect gift whose style outweighed its ineffectual substance for a monarch of a still unsettled and unbounded country. Bell's mission, including Achuk Tsering, set out for Punakha on the 20th December 1909, from Buxa Duar (now Pasakha), in the foothills on the Indo-Bhutanese borderlands, a place that Bell described as, 'densely dripping forest'.⁴⁰ It was a difficult journey for all concerned. Bell was only just beginning to recover from yet another bout of colitis or dysentery and the porters almost immediately began to rebel as the climb out of the steaming forest involved steep ascents, 'up staircases cut in the faces of perpendicular rocks'.⁴¹ They travelled quickly across Bhutanese territory to avoid any chance of Chinese espionage⁴² and on the 6th January, after an uncomfortable night, the mission party rose at 4 o'clock in the morning and undertook a 21 mile march to within just a few miles of their destination, Punakha.⁴³ The following day they would

³⁷ In Bell's 'Sikkim and General Notebook' several early conversations with Sikkim's Kazis or aristocratic leaders and members of the royal family are recorded. The conversations often seem conspiratorial and rather scandalous and Bell consults Achuk Tsering on what he has noted to ascertain what grains of truth are in amongst it all. See 28th March 1909 for example.

³⁸ See IOR/L/PS/10/221, Pt 2 - File 505/1912 Pt 2 Sikkim and Bhutan: political control, 1907-1912.

³⁹ Bell, "Bhutan Note Book," 32.

⁴⁰ Bell, "Diary Volume IV," unpaginated (1 January 1910).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² A small number of Chinese officials had stationed themselves at the borders of Tibet and Bhutan and intelligence reports suggested that the Chinese were looking to establish foreign relations with Bhutan.

⁴³ As Bell notes in his diary entry for that day, the party had arrived late to their intended halting point on the night of the 5th and the party struggled to gain entry to the house they were meant to be staying in as the servants thought they must be robbers. Once inside Bell notes, 'Our excellent and good tempered servants gave us a dinner of sorts

complete their journey with a degree of pomp and ceremony, entering Punakha during the morning with a long line of escorts, including the Sikkim orderlies, the local police and the Maharaja's band. Despite a particularly trying few days for Achuk Tsering there was no time for recuperation as a tight deadline in which to complete the signing of the treaty hung over the mission. On his arrival into Punakha Achuk Tsering was tasked with making quadruple copies of the treaty in English and Bhutanese, ensuring the meaning of each sentence was closely aligned, a task that would take him all day and most of the night. Whatever little sleep he managed to get that night had to sustain him for a further morning of intense analysis of the copies with Bell before the signing could take place at noon.

Having signed the treaty and exchanged gifts of which a significant group Bell would buy back⁴⁴ and with no further threat of Chinese intrigue the party took a relatively leisurely path back to British India, travelling west through the districts of Paro and Ha. While the end of the treaty negotiations marked the end of the highly pressurised environment they had been working in the men continued to carry out their diplomatic and intelligence gathering work. They photographed and recorded descriptions of logistical, ethnographic and botanical sites of interest, such as communication sites (including bridges and mountain passes), landscapes and monasteries. Specifically, Achuk Tsering carried out casual intelligence work in his conversations with local officials furnishing Bell with details on monastic influence in the country and information pertaining to a recent murder.⁴⁵ Achuk Tsering also continued to inform the diplomatic etiquette between British India and Bhutan. Several months after the signing of the treaty he explained to Bell in March 1910 the hidden compliments and significances found in the wide borders, letter spacing and sealing of a traditional Bhutanese letter from the Gongsas of Bhutan to the Viceroy.⁴⁶

On their return from Bhutan Bell was rushed on to Calcutta for his briefing on the unexpected arrival of the Dalai Lama into British India, but he did not forget the service that Achuk Tsering gave during the Bhutan mission. By the end of April 1910 Bell had recommended Achuk Tsering for the first of his honorary titles, 'Rai Sahib', noting to Reynolds in the Foreign

between 9+10pm, but neither Achuk Tsering, our servants nor any others, including the Bhutanese, got any food that night'. Bell, *ibid.*, unpaginated (5th January 1910).

⁴⁴ *List of Curios*, Nos 54-64.

⁴⁵ Achuk Tsering also seems to have tried his hand at photography during this trip. Two photographs now in the Bell Album 5 – Bhutan (NML 50.31.152) were taken by him as the group made their way through Paro district. See, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.152&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=6>

⁴⁶ Bell noted on page 25 of his, "Tibet Random Notes I," 'Achuk Tsering re letter from Maharaja of Bhutan to Viceroy 19/3/10. Petitions sh[oul]d be sealed on the outside, + not at the end of the writing as is done in letters between equals, + in orders from a superior to an inferior. Also a large space sh[oul]d be left above the line of compliments + a slightly smaller space between this line + the body of the letter. The space between the last line of the letter + the bottom of the page sh[oul]d be very narrow'.

office that Achuk Tsering's; 'knowledge of Bhutanese feelings proved of much use in persuading the Bhutanese to accept our terms'.⁴⁷ There was never any real doubt that he would receive the title and on the 1st January 1911 he was included in the New Year's honours list.

Bell's recommendation also leads us to speculate on Achuk Tsering's personal circumstances of which we know very little. Bell reinforces the need to honour Achuk Tsering by stating; 'he could have secured better pay by leaving his post here for work in Darjeeling or with the Tibetan government in Lhasa'.⁴⁸ But there is a possibility that monetary rewards may not necessarily have been an over-riding concern for Achuk Tsering. Independent of his work for the British he was the owner of an estate in south-west Sikkim, the Kyosing (Sosing) estate. Although his descendents now have no knowledge of the family's lineage, Achuk Tsering and his family must have had considerable standing in Sikkimese society as his first wife came from the most influential family in Sikkim, the Barmioks (of whom we will hear more of later in this chapter). Despite this prestigious union the marriage failed to produce any children and Achuk Tsering married again.⁴⁹ It is also unclear how much time he spent at the family estate in Sikkim, as his main family home was in Kalimpong. Although we have no date for the building of No. 14 Fairview its colonial style, with gabled roof and fine wooden interiors, shows an early twentieth century house owned by a man of impressive standing. While the house is now hemmed in by the unplanned development of Kalimpong town, Mrs Pedma Dolma, the granddaughter of Achuk Tsering maintains that the lands that once belonged to No 14 Fairview extended across several acres and included the family's paddy fields. If correct this would have made Achuk Tsering one of the most important land owners in Kalimpong district.⁵⁰

While there is no record of Achuk Tsering joining Bell in his rush down to Calcutta, archives do show that he did accompany Bell and the Dalai Lama's entourage to Hasting House,

⁴⁷ NAI, Internal July 1910, Nos.2. Part B. Recommendation for the grant of the title Rai Sahib to Achuk Tsering of the office of the Political Officer Sikkim.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ This small insight was provided by Mr Tashi Densapa (head of the Barmiok family) and now Director of Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim, via Tashi Tsering on 10 April 2013. The family house in Kalimpong retains a studio photograph of one of Achuk Tsering's wives. It merely states, 'mother' for her title. She wears the jewellery of an aristocratic woman from southern Tibet or Sikkim. While it might suggest that this was Achuk Tsering's second wife who lived with him in Kalimpong, there is no additional information that would lead us to an identification of this woman and the alliances that she brought to the marriage.

⁵⁰ Interview with Mrs Pedma Dolma, 5 October 2010. The possibility that Achuk Tsering was independently wealthy and of high standing in Sikkim is further bolstered by a file in the Sikkim State Archives that notes a complaint made by his family after his death. SSA, Department of General Secretary, SI No: 117 File No: 7/149/1923 records that in 1923, his son Lha Tsering files a complaint against one Babu Timbu Tsering (the title Babu suggests he worked in a British India office, possibly the Gangtok Residency, but it is not clear if he was a relative) for the non-payment of a loan. Achuk Tsering seems to have taken pity on the gambling Timbu Tsering lending him Rs.4000/-, a very significant sum of money at that time, well over 4 month's worth of wages suggesting that Achuk Tsering had substantial reserves.

Calcutta for the Lama's meetings with the Viceroy in March 1910 (see Chapter 4),⁵¹ although he does not feature in the now well-known photograph of that visit.⁵² In fact, Achuk Tsering would accompany Bell during all of his critical ceremonial and diplomatic events. He would be his clerk and advisor at the 1911 Delhi Durbar,⁵³ and as an aside he would undertake some object buying in Calcutta on their return home from the Durbar that Bell would admire and subsequently buy from Achuk Tsering.⁵⁴ Most significant of all these diplomatic occasions would be the Simla conference of 1913-14, when Achuk Tsering was appointed as translator and personal assistant to Bell. He was again an obvious choice for as recent as the summer of 1913, when Bell was conducting his 'off the record' discussions with Shatra in preparation for the conference, Achuk Tsering had once again been with him (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of these meetings). There would be little need for Bell to brief his confidential clerk on the British expectations for the conference as Achuk Tsering was so closely and minutely involved in every stage of the Anglo-Tibetan dialogue. As the archives show he assisted Bell during some of the most tension-filled meetings between Shatra and Chen Ifan, including the small 5th December meeting, when talks began on the dividing issue of the Chinese-Tibetan frontiers.⁵⁵ While the archives may only record the official meetings, we have to surmise that Achuk Tsering would have been a key actor during the conference at a grass-roots level. We can imagine him playing a critical role in gauging the mood and opinions of the Tibetan camp ahead of critical meetings, undertaking casual surveillance work and assisting in the cajoling of the Tibetans to accept what would be a comprised deal. Bell was in no doubt of the significant contribution Achuk Tsering had made at the conference. When Bell again approached the British India government asking for a further promotion for Achuk Tsering to the title of Rai Bahadur he made Achuk Tsering's contribution to the conference patently clear.

[H]e has done exceptionally good work and most noticeably at the Tibet Conference at Simla in 1913-14. At this he showed not only unflagging industry, but unfailing tactfulness and political acumen of a very high order in respect of the wide problems that then arose. To his invaluable assistance at that time I was in great measure indebted for whatever success may have attended my share of the work.⁵⁶

⁵¹ NAI, FD, Internal, May 1910, Nos. 23-34. Part B. The Dalai Lama's visit to Calcutta. Arrangements made for his stay in Hastings House.

⁵² See NML 50.31.133, see

<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.133&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=6>

⁵³ See Martin, "Sidkyong Tulku and the Making of Sikkim for the Delhi Durbar," 7-32.

⁵⁴ See *List of Curios* No. 77, current whereabouts unknown. Bell was 'domesticating' the Gangtok Residency in readiness for the arrival of Cashie Fernie, who he would marry on the 15th January 1912 in Calcutta. Cashie had instructed the seemingly clueless Bell on what to buy for the Residency in a private letter between the couple. Bell's reply from the Durbar is dated 7 December 1911 (Private collection).

⁵⁵ NAI, FD, External Secret, October 1914, Nos. 134-396. Proceedings of the Tibet Conference.

⁵⁶ NAI, FD, Internal, April 1917, Nos. 57-59 Part B. Title for Achuk Tsering.

Achuk Tsering would work with Bell in the Gangtok Residency office until Bell's retirement on the 15th March 1919. While we have no record of the day to day work he undertook there, Bell himself felt that the Gangtok Residency posting was one that came with immense pressure. Without an Assistant Political Officer to relieve some of the burden, the most senior staff including and particularly Achuk Tsering would have been involved in administering the Sikkim state and nurturing diplomacy between British India, Bhutan, Sikkim and of course Tibet.

1919 would not however bring an end to their working relationship. With the urgent and unexpected retirement of Bell's successor, Campbell, who Achuk Tsering had worked with in the Chumbi valley more than a decade ago, and with the possibility of a mission to Lhasa reappearing, Bell came back to the Gangtok Residency on the 15th January 1920. By March, he and Achuk Tsering were preparing themselves mentally for a possible mission to Lhasa by discussing the direction of British India's policy towards Tibet. Achuk Tsering using his years of experience argued that the government should; 'Give the Tibetan arms and ammunitions to defend themselves and British should create a more positive portrayal of Tibet in the media, not Tibet that is aggressive but it is the Chinese'.⁵⁷ In these few lines we see a strikingly contemporary understanding of international diplomacy in the Tibetan context and the precise difficulties facing Tibet and the British India frontier officers who desperately wanted to support Tibet, but who were faced with opposition from their superiors in Whitehall.

When the word came that permission had finally been granted for Bell's mission to proceed to Lhasa Achuk Tsering would be one of the first names written on the list of men Bell wanted to take with him.⁵⁸ As the mission made its way to Lhasa in early November of 1920 Achuk Tsering, so critical to Bell, indispensable in fact would become a victim of a rampant influenza epidemic that was raging in Phari, a place the entourage had decided to avoid due to the alarming reports coming out of the town. For several days after the mission's arrival in Lhasa all seemed well.⁵⁹ Bell reassured the Dalai Lama during their first meeting on the 19th November that he would bring Achuk Tsering with him, when the time came to interpret and present the Dalai Lama's message for the Viceroy.⁶⁰ Achuk Tsering had in the first few days already

⁵⁷ Bell, "Tibet Bote Book I," 275-276.

⁵⁸ In "Tibet Note Book II," 94, Bell notes in his, 'List of people and things to take to Lhasa' that, 'R.B. Achuk Tshering [sic] sh[oul]d be called my Assistant + I should try to get a gazetted post for him under the Govt. Of Bengal, if he does really well, or better still post of B[ritish]. T[rade]. A[gent] Gyantse if Mr Macdonald prefers to stay in Yatung or other gazetted post in Tibet'. This was quite typical of Bell; he continually throughout his tenure looked for opportunities to promote or reward the men he worked closely with.

⁵⁹ The following information is taken from "Diary Volume VII."

⁶⁰ We should remember that while Bell spoke excellent Tibetan he could not write the literary Tibetan needed for correspondence with the aristocracy and monastic elites. Much later in December 1934 Bell notes in his diary, 'I tell

reacquainted himself with old informants and colleagues, reporting back to Bell on the 16th November that he and Khan Sahib Faizulla, head of the Ladakhi community in the city, had discussed the possible sightings of other Europeans in the Tibetan capital. Bell faithfully recorded in his diary that Achuk Tsering a part of his small inner circle in Lhasa, visited the Sera monastery with him on the 20th November. He witnessed the Palden Lhamo ceremony at the Jokhang and on the same night, the 25th November, they discussed the meaning of the word, 'lama' and the concept of reincarnation. Five days later the little party was given a tour of the Dalai Lama's summer palace, the Norbulingka. Then suddenly Achuk Tsering stopped appearing in the diary entries, there was no mention of his illness, or any concerns that his condition was deteriorating, that is until the 11th December.

Rai Bahadur Achuk Tsering died today, of heart failure, brought on by a combined attack of influenza and gout. His heart turned out to be weak, which I did not know before. His death is a great shock to us all, + we shall all miss him terribly. He was a man of great political acumen, my right hand man in Tibetan, Bhutanese and Sikkimese politics⁶¹

Although Bell does not mention him again in his diary it was undoubtedly a distressing time for Bell and all the men who had worked with him. Achuk Tsering had been a constant in the Gangtok Residency since 1908 and the respect and consideration the men had for him was articulated in a single gesture in Lhasa. 'When my personal assistant, A-chuk Tse-ring, died ... the other Buddhists on my staff besought the Dalai Lama for help to give him a good rebirth'.⁶²

Achuk Tsering was undoubtedly Bell's right hand man. As we have seen here he advised Bell at every major event in his career, his diplomatic knowledge and understanding growing alongside Bell's. Outside of the diplomatic arena Bell also learned from Achuk Tsering in many other ways. He identified and described individual objects that Bell received in Bhutan,⁶³ and Bell absorbed the Tibetan Buddhist stories Achuk Tsering regaled the various travelling parties from the Gangtok Residency with during their many tours together. In certain cases Bell ordered copies of those stories for his own collection as a result.⁶⁴ It is impossible to quantify the many

Palhese that it will be difficult for me correspond w[ith]. Tib[eta]n after he leaves me, as I cannot write literary Tib[eta]n, + I can only partially understand it. He says that I can always write in colloquial Tib[eta]n. Tib[eta]ns will not be offended at this, +, in fact, many of them know already that this is what I like to do'. NML, 50.31.138, Bell "Diary Volume XIX," 7. He relied heavily on men like Achuk Tsering to convey and translate the agreements and diplomatic correspondence that accompanied this relationship.

⁶¹ Bell, "Diary Volume VII" unpaginated.

⁶² A draft manuscript of Bell's *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, now in a private collection contains an additional chapter called, 'Mysticism', the quote comes from this deleted chapter.

⁶³ See *List of Curios* No.6, current whereabouts unknown and also "Bhutan Random Notes", for a discussion with Dawa Samdup on the production of the Bhutanese appliqué *thangkas* received during the Bhutan mission, *List of Curios* No.66-67, now BM 1933.0508.120 and 1933.0508.121-121a.

⁶⁴ See for example the manuscript entitled, 'The twenty-five tales of the talking corpse' in the Bell Collection at NML. See

<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=info&item=50.31.101&coll=1&page=2&theme1>

ways in which Achuk Tsering influenced Bell's diplomatic and political understanding of Tibet and the Himalaya, but despite his seemingly ghostly presence in the archive without him it is quite possible that Bell would not have achieved all that he did.

Dewan Bahadur Palhese Sonam Wangyal – *'my personal guide, philosopher, and friend'*⁶⁵

Palhese knew not only what leading men were doing, but what they were saying, and even what they were thinking, this last being often quite different from their words and actions⁶⁶

Dewan Bahadur Palhese Sonam Wangyal, or Kusho Palhese (c.1870- c.1936),⁶⁷ as he was more commonly known, was inextricably linked to Bell (figure 2.2). In Palhese we find the man who moulded Bell's aristocratic understanding of Tibet. To know Palhese is to know why Bell collected, wrote and acted as he did. Unlike Achuk Tsering whose family background, schooling and training had cast him in the role of British India employee, Palhese was a Tibetan aristocrat. He neither spoke nor could write in English and when he offered his counsel he could in an instant baffle Bell with the poetic, almost incomprehensible, rhymes and idioms of the Tibetan language.⁶⁸ Bell felt that Palhese offered him something that Achuk Tsering and the other Bhutia Boarding School recruits couldn't. 'The Tibetans who live in Indian territory, even those on the Tibetan frontier in Darjeeling and Kalimpong, gain only a partial knowledge of Tibet and Tibetan life, religious, domestic or political, for they are heavily influenced by Western ideas.'⁶⁹ Palhese it seems had a perspective on the Tibetan world, a rootedness that Bell couldn't have hoped to have gained for himself even after several life times as a British India officer. He had a

[d=13](#) for an account of Achuk Tsering's telling of the tale and Bell's subsequent acquisition of the story in a manuscript from Barmiok Lama.

⁶⁵ Bell, *Tibet: Past & Present*, 94. This biographical account of Palhese is a revised and much extended version of the information I gathered for my chapter, "Charles Bell's collections of curios: Acquisitions and encounters during a Himalayan journey," 167-183.

⁶⁶ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 25.

⁶⁷ Palhese's birth date is very difficult to pin down to the exact year. There are dateable reference points, (for example travelling with Das to Lhasa and the reference below), but the Tibetan system of determining the first twelve months of a person's life as 'one year of age' brings with it some uncertainty as to whether his age is being described using the western or Tibetan system, see for example, 'When I left, he retired to his small estate in central Tibet, though only forty-eight years of age'. Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 26. Unfortunately Bell doesn't state whether he is referring to his 1918 retirement, or whether he is referring to his retirement in 1921 after the Lhasa mission. We also have no date of death, but we can ascertain that Palhese or *P'a-lha'i sras* (the name used by Bell literally translates as 'Son of Pha lha') had died by September 1936, as Bell received a letter from Dr Graham, the Scottish missionary, with sympathies for 'the loss of such an admired and loyal friend' (IOR MSS Eur F80 / 225), and in October 1937, Bell corresponds with Hugh Richardson based in Gyantse to organize a bi-annual payment of Rs.200 for Palhese's very young son (Bell to Richardson, Private Collection, 1937).

⁶⁸ After nearly 20 years of friendship, Bell could still find Palhese incomprehensible. In 1920 when Bell was preparing for his trip to Lhasa he sent word to Palhese, 'To my request that he would come from Lhasa to my headquarters in Sikkim, I received this reply, "Though the Emperor of India may desire a good name, the Emperor of China cannot afford to bear a bad one". "What on earth does he mean?" I asked a mutual friend. "Ah, well; one of his tenants has brought a suit against him. He must stay in Lhasa till it is decided; otherwise he will lose both his case and his good name." Two months later he arrived'. Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 245.

⁶⁹ Bell, *ibid.*, 25.



FIGURE 2.2
Palhese stood outside Elza Lodge
Kalimpong, 1934
Courtesy of a Private Collection

‘purity’ in his perspectives that Bell felt was vital not only for him to succeed as an officer on the frontiers, but also for him to be accepted into Tibetan aristocratic circles. It would be Palhese who would teach Bell how to speak in honorific Tibetan, the language of the Lhasa aristocrats.⁷⁰ In Bell’s eyes, Palhese appeared untouched by British intervention.

This was a friendship and a working relationship that went far beyond the constraints of colonizer and colonized. There was a reliance here that saw both men become deeply entangled in each other’s lives despite Bell living in Gangtok, while Palhese spent increasing amounts of time moving between Gyantse, Lhasa and the British India controlled borderlands. Bell’s perception of Palhese as a ‘pure’ Tibetan was a result, rather ironically, of his exile in British India. Palhese held a unique position as the only Tibetan aristocrat to be employed by the British India government.⁷¹ Despite his considerable contact with the borderlands Palhese was a

⁷⁰ ‘I could not fail to recognise how great was my debt to Palhese. For he had from the first taught me the proper use of Tibetan honorific terms, a language which, as a member of the nobility, he had imbibed from his earliest years’. Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 119.

⁷¹ McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, 124, notes that this situation was due to the fact that, ‘Legally, Tibetan employees could not be given full protection from Lhasa’s authority by naturalising them’, but as will become clear Palhese had very little left to lose when it came to his relationship with the Lhasa government in 1901.

member of the Phalha family one of around nineteen wealthy and politically influential *midrak* families.⁷² They owned estates around the southern Tibetan city of Gyantse, had large properties in Lhasa and extended family members held critical monastic and lay positions across southern and central Tibet.⁷³ Members of the Phalha family went on to become *Depöns* (General) and *Kalöns* (government minister), the family was part of the search party for the tenth Dalai Lama, Tsultrim Gyatso (1816-1837) and the son of a Phalha retainer became the seventh Jebtsundamba Khutughtu (1850-1868), the head of the *Gelukpa* in Mongolia.

Palhese is first noted in British Indian sources by Das, during his covert trip across southern Tibet in 1881-82.⁷⁴ Palhese's father was the *Depön* of Drongtse, a village with a substantial monastery built above it that at the time was considered to be amongst the most important *Gelukpa* monasteries in the district of Tsang. The Phalhas were patrons of this monastery, which was home to the Sengchen Lama. This great reincarnate lama of Tashi Lhunpo monastery was related either by marriage or as a cousin or brother to Palhese's mother, who is known to us only as *Lhacham* (Lady). The Lama would become head of the *Ngagpa Tratsang* (tantric college) at Tashi Lhunpo and by the time of Das's visit he would be the Chief Minister of the eighth Panchen Lama, Tenpai Wangchuk (1855-1882).⁷⁵ The *Depön's* wife, Palhese's mother, not realizing Das was a spy, agreed to include him in her party to Lhasa (which also included the 13-year-old Palhese, who survived smallpox on this trip). When Das also fell ill and became too sick to travel on, she arranged for him to be cared for at Samding Monastery, the seat of *Dorje Phagmo*, the only female incarnation in Tibet, to whom she was also related.⁷⁶ When Das finally arrived into Lhasa, Palhese's mother arranged for him to stay at a house owned by the Panchen Lama.⁷⁷ She entertained him several times at the Phalha's Lhasa mansion, Bangyeshar and later on she would arranged an audience for Das with the young Dalai Lama.⁷⁸ From these few references it is clear that Palhese was connected to some of the most important monastic figures in Tibet and Mongolia. He was accustomed to a life of great wealth and privilege and was surrounded by an immediate family who had great political and social authority. There was every

⁷² See Travers, "Exclusiveness and Openness: A Study of Matrimonial Strategies in the Dga' ldan pho brang Aristocracy (1880-1959)," 1-27, and "The Careers of the Noble Officials of the Ganden Phodrang (1895-1959): Organisation and Hereditary Divisions within the Service of State," 155-174 and Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet 1728 – 1959*, for collective and individual biographies of the aristocracy in central Tibet.

⁷³ See Petech, *ibid.*, 79. See also Bell, *The People of Tibet*, 65, for a potted history on the establishment of the *Pha lha* family in the seventeenth century.

⁷⁴ 'The Lhacham and her two other sons, Lhasre [EM: Palhese] and Kundi, made their devotions at the different chapels of the castle, which it took them nearly an hour to accomplish, and then returned to the fifth story of the building to receive the minister's blessing, after which they took their leave' in Das, *Journal to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, 167.

⁷⁵ McKay, "The Drowning of Lama Sengchen Kyabying: A Preliminary Enquiry from British Sources," 264.

⁷⁶ Das, *ibid.*, 175.

⁷⁷ Das, *ibid.*, 198.

⁷⁸ Das, *ibid.*, 219.

likelihood that the teenage Palhese was destined for a career as a *Depön*, with continuing close monastic connections to Tashi Lhunpo and the type of status that gave him influence in the capital, Lhasa. This visit by Das would however, in absolute terms, rip that security and status apart.

Although Das had left Lhasa undetected, suspicions were raised in Shigatse. While he did manage to make it back across the border, when the details of Das's clandestine visit emerged it incensed the Lhasa government. The continuing border disputes between British India, Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet had given the Tibetans the opportunity to close down their borders denying access to all foreign visitors and this was an edict that was enthusiastically upheld by the Tibetan frontier officials. Now that edict had been breached by the British and as that breach had unwittingly been made possible by a leading aristocratic family in Tibet there would be severe repercussions. The Phalha family and their associates, including the Sengchen Lama, were made examples of with many family members and servants being severely punished. Shockingly, the revered Sengchen Lama was executed and it was declared that his future reincarnations would go unrecognised. For Palhese this was a very personal tragedy. Macdonald who heard first hand from Palhese some years later recalled that. 'Phala Depon, a fourth-rank official, and his wife were imprisoned, flogged and tortured until they died', although there are other conflicting reports, seemingly also from Palhese, of fines and exile.⁷⁹ The brother of the *Depön* Phalha, the Lhacham's other husband was one of the men imprisoned for life, who was only freed following the efforts of O'Connor during the Younghusband expedition in 1904.⁸⁰

Whatever the veracity of the claims may be over the conflicting reports on the fate of the Phalha family, as a family and as a powerful unit they were now vulnerable and splintered. It is unclear if Palhese went into exile with his parents, if they did in fact survive, or if he stayed in Lhasa with his brother. Whatever the circumstances, sometime before 1901 the situation in Tibet became untenable for Palhese and he fled to Kalimpong. It would have been impossible for him to arrive in this busy frontier town that would become a centre for Himalayan intelligence gathering, without the British knowing about it. If not immediately approached by the British he would surely have been watched. McKay is certain that any fleeing Phalhas and their surrounding circle would be taken care of as they had; 'assisted a British employee, and that this was widely

⁷⁹ Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 138. See also, McKay, *ibid.*, 269, Bell records, 'The late Lha-cham, having befriended Sarat Chandra Das, the Bengali explorer, during his secret journey to Lhasa, was fined heavily in jewellery and other property, while the Drong-tse estate, the best in the family's possession, was burdened with a severe tax'. Bell, *The People of Tibet*: 93. Then in the short biography of Palhese's brother, *Pha lha* Kusho Bell includes, 'When Palha was only eighteen years old, his father and his mother were banished to Chong-gye, a place three or four days' journey south of Lhasa, for having helped Sarat Chandra Das, the Bengali explorer, on his secret journey to Lhasa. They were kept there for seven years'. Bell, *ibid.*, 105.

⁸⁰ McKay, *ibid.*

known on the frontier, [therefore] it was important for British prestige that the imperial power demonstrate it's loyalty to those who had assisted them'.⁸¹ White, the first Political Officer in Sikkim who came into post when the Das scandal was still fresh in the minds of the Tibetans, made no hesitation in equating the Phalhas with other pro-British Himalayans such as the Khangsa brothers (see later in this chapter) and the Tibetan *Shapés* who had assisted the British during the Younghusband expedition.⁸² Despite the fact that the Phalhas had been inadvertently embroiled in the situation, this was just a small detail for the British officers who would take whatever positive signs they could in these tense borderlands. The Phalhas would from this moment on be seen as supporters of British policy in Tibet and the borderlands.

It is within this context that Bell and Palhese met. We already know that in 1901, the inexperienced Bell was scouting around the provincial offices of Darjeeling in the hope that he could start to surround himself with a group of local men who would enable him to solidify his position on the frontier. From Bell's recollections of their meeting Bell had used his burgeoning Tibetan networks to make sure he knew of any new arrivals into Kalimpong.⁸³ Bell framed their meeting as a happy coincidence for his readers,⁸⁴ but Bell would not have been so careless as to make the selection of his closest confidant so lightly. One suspects Palhese's allegiances and contacts would have been closely checked and it may well have been that the anonymous 'Tibetan friend' who alerted Bell to Palhese's arrival was a member of the Phalha circle already in exile and working with the British.⁸⁵ Bell, having got the all clear on Palhese, employed him as his Tibetan assistant, alongside Achuk Tsering, for the Kalimpong survey. This survey would not only cement the three men into the Kalimpong district, but on a more personal level it would shape the future relationships between the three men, who would work together for extended periods for the rest of their frontier lives. Palhese seems to have not only made an impression on Bell,⁸⁶ but also on the Tibetan community in Kalimpong. 'Again and again I was congratulated by Tibetans on the possession of this incomparable friend, who remained with me as long as I

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 269-270.

⁸² White, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, 110.

⁸³ 'I had come into touch with him through the medium of a Tibetan friend, and had attached him to my private service before I ever entered Tibet', see Bell, *Tibet: Past & Present*, 94.

⁸⁴ 'So I had asked these Tibetans to keep a look-out for any educated Tibetan, and especially one of good birth from Lhasa, for there, at the heart, life pulsates at its fullest. After a few months by a happy chance Palhese arrived', Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 25.

⁸⁵ This is likely to be the same Sherab Gyatso or Shabdung Lama who I believe was Bell's first Tibetan language tutor (see Chapter 1). He had also taught Tibet to Frederick O'Connor, the leading Tibetan linguist at the time of the Younghusband expedition.

⁸⁶ Following the survey Bell recommends Palhese for the first of his many British India honours, the title, Rai Sahib. This liminal space that Palhese occupied may explain why this is the only official archive, now in the NAI, relating to Palhese's employment with the British Indian Government during the course of Bell's tenure. NAI, FD, Sec E, November 1903, Nos. 40-80. Phalsey Appointment.

was in or near 'Tibet'.⁸⁷ By the end of the survey in 1903, there was already a very strong bond of trust and friendship between the two men, reflected in Palhese's reaction to Bell being ordered back to the Indian plains on the completion of his survey work.

He walked with me down the road from Kalimpong, and in due course we parted sadly, near a bend in the road. After walking fifty or sixty yards further, expecting him to have passed behind the bend, I looked back to see how empty the place looked without him. But he was still there sitting on a rock on the hillside, weeping bitterly.⁸⁸

The two men had become in a relatively short space deeply enmeshed. In Palhese's case Bell offered some sense of security and stability in the early stages of his exile. For Bell, Palhese was for him a walking, talking, 'veritable encyclopedia [sic] of things Tibetan, high and low, especially on the secular side', and he gave Bell access to an intellectual and aristocratic landscape that was to Bell, 'a close preserve'.⁸⁹

Loyalty and confidentiality was a defining feature of their relationship and while Achuk Tsering would work for several British India officers and as we shall see in the coming section Barmiok Lama had other foreign students, Palhese made it clear to Bell that the knowledge he held would be available to no one but him. '[H]e impressed on me that he would not work for anybody else, though he was then less than thirty years old. ... from time to time he would tell me, "If you leave the government service to-day, I leave tomorrow." And nothing would alter his decision'.⁹⁰ In British Indian culture, where knowledge was power, this gave Bell an edge over all the other contenders for the Political Officer post that Bell would secure in 1908.

Bell himself made it clear that he, unlike Palhese, was not imbibed with the intimacies of Tibetan etiquette and culture. As we have already seen and as will become obvious in the following chapters success was often dependent on the details; the hidden compliments and symbols of status that men like Palhese had to reveal to men like Bell in order for the wider diplomatic encounters to play out with some level of satisfaction and comprehension for both parties. While not intuitive Bell did intuitively know that he needed direction; he knew he needed to know, but what he needed to know was not always visible to him. The random nature of the information gathered in Bell's numerous volumes of notebooks attests to this. To quote Donald Rumsfeld on the more recent gathering of intelligence and local knowledge. "There are known knowns' ...but 'there are also unknown unknowns – there are things we do not know we

⁸⁷ Bell, *ibid.* Bell's description of Palhese as a possession is also interesting to note.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

don't know'.⁹¹ Throughout his career, Bell encountered many 'unknown unknowns', fortunately for Bell Palhese was a skilled, cultural and aristocratic interpreter who could guide him through the labyrinthine practices of aristocratic etiquette. He shaped his responses and enabled Bell to operate and be successful in a highly cultured environment where every single gesture mattered.

The historical record of Bell's achievements make it obvious what Bell gained from their relationship, but what were Palhese's agendas? What did he gain in return and did it in any way equate to Bell's own rewards? The colonial encounter is rightly deemed to be for the most part a deeply unequal exchange, but here in this micro-narrative it could be argued that there were some advantages for Palhese in this particular colonial encounter. This relationship and the safeguarding of the continual success of his British friend and colleague should not be read as a purely altruistic exercise on Palhese's behalf. After the Das affair a great deal of the wealth of the Phalha family was confiscated, the estates they retained were severely taxed and several of their homes were sealed by the Tibetan government. The family then suffered further losses during the Younghusband expedition of 1903-04, when the expedition had requisitioned and partly destroyed the Phalha mansion in Gyantse.⁹² Then later, during the fighting in Lhasa between the Chinese and Tibetan troops in 1910-12, Bangyeshar the family's mansion was also turned to rubble. Palhese's likely personal motivation for ensuring Bell succeeded in his diplomatic encounters with Tibet and its aristocrats was articulated by Macdonald in the late 1920s.

Only within recent years has it [the Phalha family] again raised its head, in the person of a scion [Palhese] who has done exceptionally good work for the Government of India, and has received a title of honour for the same. As the Tibetans are desirous of keeping on good terms with the British they have permitted him to re-enter Tibet and to hold estates once again.⁹³

Palhese had seen his birthright ripped from him and his family properties destroyed or sealed. The family had been held with suspicion by the Lhasa government and the Dalai Lama, and Palhese was personally known as 'two-faced' in aristocratic society for his British India associations. But with small incremental steps, he began his rehabilitation. Firstly, travelling with Bell in southern Tibet - the Phalha heartlands - during Bell's annual tours, followed by increasing periods of time in Drongtse with his extended family. The Dalai Lama seemingly watched his progress, noting the way he had trained Bell and the positive way in which Bell had come to

⁹¹ The full quote can be found in, DoD News Briefing - Secretary Rumsfeld and Gen. Myers', February 12, 2002 11:30 am EST. Accessed on 12th May 2013 at <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=2636>

⁹² Macdonald accompanied Palhese on a visit to the Gyantse mansion, 'On arrival at the Phala mansion, which had been sealed by the Tibetan Government, and which, except for a couple of caretakers, has remained empty ever since, we were shown over it by those men. It is a typical Tibetan house of the better class, four storeys in height'. Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 139.

⁹³ Macdonald, *The Land of the Lama*, 199.

support and promote Tibet. When Bell decided to retire in 1919, Palhese was immediately offered a government post in Tibet by the Dalai Lama who recognized his immense influence in frontier affairs. Palhese turned it down; he understood Tibetan politics all too well and did not want to become a focus for jealous machinations within Lhasa's political circles, a circle that continued to view him with some suspicion. Despite this rebuttal, the Dalai Lama did not withdraw his growing support but instead began to consult Palhese, viewing him as a conduit to his own trusted advisor, Bell. With Bell's mission to Lhasa in 1920-21, Palhese was on a clear path to rehabilitating his and to some extent the Phalha name.⁹⁴ Having instructed Bell in the intricacies of etiquette for the *Losar* ceremonies (see Chapter 1), the Dalai Lama sent Bell a letter of thanks for his observance of the ritual and with this letter came another for Palhese granting him a further three-year lease for the Serchok estate close to the Phalha stronghold of Drongtse, which Bell surmised was; 'perhaps as a reward for having taught me the Tibetan language and customs so well'.⁹⁵

In the face of the severe rupture that had changed the course of his life at thirteen years of age, Palhese had used this extreme set of circumstances to forge for himself a unique position in the Anglo-Tibetan encounter. He would be acknowledged by the British as a man who had given exceptional service, evidenced by the last title he would receive, that of 'Dewan Bahadur'. Bar the title of 'Raja', this was the highest available honour, and one which Bell thought he rightfully deserved. 'Palhese told me that he did not want to be made a Raja, as nearly all Rajas are wealthy, and he was not. He was worthy of either title'.⁹⁶ His abilities to interpret and make known the Tibetan aristocratic world ensured he would regain some of the wealth and standing of his ancestral family and he and his family would once again have contacts at the very highest levels of the *Gelukpa*.

Despite his continuing restoration and the geographical distance between the two men Palhese continued to support Bell when he finally returned to England. In March 1927, five years after Bell sailed back to the south of England following the completion of his Lhasa mission, Palhese followed him. His purpose was to help Bell edit and complete several chapters of the books he would become known for that would establish him as a Tibetan scholar in the modern sense. The two spent a year living close by each other,⁹⁷ with Palhese playing the role of

⁹⁴ His brother Kusho Phalha and his uncle Phalha Kenchen would also be rehabilitated and brought back into the Lhasa government, see chapter 3 and the biographical entries in Appendix 2.

⁹⁵ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 309.

⁹⁶ Bell, *ibid.*, 384.

⁹⁷ 'He saw something of rural life in England, visited London, and through the kindness of the Hon. Mary Scott [EM: She was a school teacher who established a Church of Scotland Mission school in Gangtok], saw a little of the Scottish lowlands and highlands'. Bell, *ibid.*, 421. Amongst other things the Bell family took Palhese to Windsor Castle, Rongye Collett (Bell's daughter) recalled in an interview with Alex McKay on the 1st March 1993, 'showing

editor and advisor; a role which Bell readily acknowledged in the books that were published following his visit. As Palhese and Bell took the taxi to Euston Station on the morning of Palhese's departure, they discussed future plans in order it seems to dampen the pain of his leaving. Bell had been outlining the next chapters for the numerous books he hoped to write. As they drove on the two men also began to plan out a future trip that would take Bell back to Tibet, in order to consult and discuss his work with knowledgeable and educated Tibetans. Palhese felt this trip would be crucial. 'Your books up to now are so accurate, that, if a man, who is not very good, comes + advises, you will be a case of "The White Umbrella" (CB: title of one of the sacred books that is spoilt by a (wrongly written) charm)'.⁹⁸ A trip back to Tibet seemed to be the ideal solution, but if this wasn't possible Palhese suggested he would arrange to send; 'an absolutely first class one [Lama] such as Sera Dupdi', but thinking through the practicalities he added that he would need to, 'know a year in advance, if possible, but, anyhow six months at least'.⁹⁹ There would be no need for Palhese to find a first class Lama, as Bell's last trip to Tibet would come together in 1933. The old compatriots, both men now in their sixties met again in Kalimpong to spend a final year together in Tibet. Palhese had recently become a father and the two families spent their time moving between their old haunts near Gyantse and meeting with familiar faces and old friends. Bell might not have needed a Lama to come to England, but the idea remained and as Bell began to plan a further trip to Mongolia he turned to Palhese again, 'Dewan Bahadur Palhese has been looking for a Mongol servant for me, or a Tib[eta]n who speaks Mongol + Chinese'.¹⁰⁰ We don't learn of the identity of the man Palhese chose until Bell and his 'servant' are already on their way, 'Wang-gyal La, the Mongolian, whom Palhese has picked to accompany me, travels in the second class'.¹⁰¹ As always Palhese would have used his networks and considerable influence to find Bell, 'a first class Lama', but with a great deal of hindsight, we can now see that this final decision was something quite extraordinary.

In his final act of guidance Palhese had chosen none other than the man who would later be known to many Buddhists in the western world as Geshe Wangyal (1901-1983). Ngawang Wangyal was born in Kalmykia, and became a novice monk at six, but after the

him around Windsor Castle, and his Tibetan outfit attracted more attention than the sites of the castle; after which he wore European clothing'. Many thanks to Alex McKay for generously sharing that interview with me.

⁹⁸ Bell, "Diary Volume XIV," 23.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ NML, 50.31.158, Bell, "Diary Volume XIX," 10.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 12. Detailed on this same page is Bell's departure from India for what would be the last time. When Bell leaves for China from Calcutta, Palhese and Bell's camp bearer, Pasang have both come to see him off. We have come to expect very little emotion from Bell, but this final diary entry featuring Palhese recorded on the 1st February 1935 is wrought with emotion, 'Palhese + Pasang, dear men, came to see me off. It was a sad parting; all three of us felt it. Both of them are really old now, + both in poor health, especially little Pasang; + I in years am the oldest of the three. Partings in old age. Why, oh why? Best drop the subject. They walked away around the corner of the large goods shed on the wharf; the parting had come'.

Russian Civil War of 1918, he travelled to Lhasa, where he studied at Drepung's Gomang College. When he travelled with Bell to Mongolia and Manchuria he acted as his assistant, arranging meetings and acting as an interpreter. The money Bell paid him for his services allowed Wangyal to pay not only for his, but for others' monastic training, ensuring he and they could complete the *geshe* degree. This might have been the end of the story, but when the Chinese invaded Tibet in the early 1950s, Wangyal escaped to Kalimpong, and then travelled on to the United States to work amongst the Kalmyk Americans who had begun to settle on the East Coast. In 1958 Labsum Shedrub Ling, New Jersey was established and Wangyal would continue to be the head of that monastery until his death. Due to his knowledge and expertise he was asked to give teachings at Columbia University, New York, which he did until well into the 1970s. Through him the Columbia programme became a focus for visiting exiled Tibetan monks and lamas, many of whom were establishing courses on Tibetan Buddhism across the United States. Alongside this he taught some of the most well known Tibetologists in the western world, including Robert Thurman and Jeffrey Hopkins, making Columbia one of the most respected centres for Tibetan studies in the west. It would be something of an exaggeration to suggest that Palhese played a part in bringing Tibetan Buddhism to the west. Nevertheless, it is hard not to over emphasise this act of Palhese's, which perfectly illustrates the immense role he played in ensuring that Bell was equipped with the best possible guides and was given access to some of the best minds available. All of this ensured that the authority of the advice Bell gave to government and the books he wrote on Tibet would in fact outlive both of them.

Barmiok Jedrung Karma Palden Chogyal - 'The Barmiak Lama'

Along with protocols, diplomacy and aristocratic etiquette Bell also needed careful counsel in order to understand his growing collection of curios. As we have already seen in Chapter 1 and as we will see again in Chapters 3 and 5 Bell built a collection of objects, manuscripts and photographs that operated on multiple levels. His curios enabled him to learn Tibetan, they would raise his prestige in Tibetan aristocratic circles and they would cement and embody the narratives he chose to tell in relation to his Himalayan life. Just as he had to be directed in the honorific language he used, the times he chose to call on a Tibetan host or the colour of the pony he would ride, he also had to be instructed in how to read or know his Tibetan collection. As we will see in several chapters Palhese was instrumental in sourcing and on occasion describing the objects he collected for Bell, but Bell had to turn to others in order to understand the religious context that informed many of the objects he acquired. By looking at one man he

turned to, by understanding his religious affiliations, his contact with the British and how he assisted Bell in this aspect of his Tibetan knowing we get a sense of the complex personal experiences that informed the knowledge that Bell acquired.

Before the research for this thesis began, ‘Barmiok Lama’ was the title of a seemingly anonymous religious man who Bell had relied on for information regarding the religious objects in his collection of curios.¹⁰² Within the museum context he was something of a mystery man. Fifteen years after securing a large proportion of the Bell collection for Liverpool Museum (now World Museum) in 1950 Elaine Tankard,¹⁰³ the Keeper of the Antiquities department and the curator responsible for building the Tibet collection at Liverpool was still looking for answers to the question of Barmiok Lama’s identity. She was close to retirement and in her desperation she contacted Dr R O Meisezahl (1906-1992) at the British Museum asking, ‘while in London you can trace the name. The Central Asian Society might help’.¹⁰⁴ She had her suspicions that ‘Barmiok’ was a Mongolian name, but finding no luck there, she wrote to Bell’s son to ask for the loan of Bell’s notebooks to try and resolve the question of the Lama’s identity, but an answer eluded her. Having also secured the pivotal document *List of Curios* with the loaned collection she understood the significant role this Lama had played in determining the way Bell understood his collection, which would define how she, a curator who was not a Tibet specialist, would interpret the collection for the museum audience. Fifty years later Moore in her PhD thesis would face the same predicament. She could only surmise from the small pockets of information contained in *List of Curios* that; ‘Bell obtained descriptions and explanations of the objects he then possessed from an individual referred to as the “Barmiok Lama”, a member of the “Ny-ing-ma sect”, to which she adds, ‘though this man is otherwise elusive in Bell’s writings’.¹⁰⁵

Barmiok Jedrung Karma Palden Chogyal (1871-1942) (figure 2.3) was in fact an important monastic figure in Sikkimese society in the early twentieth century who held a number

¹⁰² This biography of the Barmiok Lama has been made possible by two people. Firstly, Dr. Anna Balikci-Denjongpa, Research Co-ordinator at the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok. After initially contacting her to see if the Barmiok Lama could have been from Barmiok in Sikkim, she delighted in informing me that her Director, Mr Tashi Densapa, was in fact the reincarnation of the Barmiok Lama. She provided various pieces of biographical information on him and his family connections. In addition, Mr Tashi Tsering, Director of the Amnye Machen Institute has shared photographs and information he transcribed from the Densapa family archives relating to the Barmiok Lama and he has also pointed out several archival sources. Tashi Tsering has completed a short religion-based biographical account of Barmiok Lama for an introduction to a new edition of a text written by Barmiok Lama in 1912 at the behest of Sidkyong Tulku on the subject of taking refuge. The new edition of *Skyabs 'gro'i phan yon mdor bsdu*, *The Kyab doe Fen yon, The Blessings of Buddhism in short*, was published in 2013 to coincide with the 100th anniversary and reopening of the refurbished Simick monastery.

¹⁰³ See, Martin, “A Feminine Touch: Elaine Tankard and the Creation of the Tibet Collection at National Museums Liverpool,” 98-114.

¹⁰⁴ Tankard to Meisezahl, 22nd June 1965; National Museums Liverpool, Elaine Tankard correspondence, 1949-1966.

¹⁰⁵ Moore, “Colonial Collecting: A Study of the Tibetan Collections at Liverpool Museum -Cultural Encounters, Patterns of Acquisition and the Ideology of Display,” 88.

of monastic positions. He was the first head lama of Simick monastery in southern Sikkim, having been identified as the reincarnation of one of the four yogis who had entered Sikkim from Tibet and who had subsequently visited Simick in the seventeenth century. Although he was a *Nyingmapa* lama by reincarnation, his family were *Kagyupas* and followers of the Karmapa (the spiritual head of the *Karma Kagyu* sub-school of Tibetan Buddhism) and so he was well versed in both the traditions of the *Nyingma* and *Kagyu* lineages. Alongside this, he was also the head lama of Ralong monastery (the chief lama of Ralong always being appointed from the Barmiok family by tradition). Together with these two roles he would also be appointed chief spiritual counsel for the Sikkim royal family and would sit on the Sikkim state council, as his father did, for at least one year (1917-18). We also see from the British records that by 1920 he is described as the 'Chief Lama of Sikkim' and is noted to be acting as an 'Inspector of Monasteries in Sikkim'.¹⁰⁶ By 1933, the British recorded that he has retired from official duties due to ill health and in April 1942 he would die of heart failure.¹⁰⁷

Bell described the lama in December 1912 in somewhat idyllic terms as they began the process of writing the *List of Curios*. 'He is renowned for his piety no less than for his learning and holds himself aloof from political intrigue and from the invitations of others to wield secular power in the state'.¹⁰⁸ While the Barmiok Lama is certainly known primarily as a religious figure, we must ask ourselves how did Bell come to know of a man who kept himself apart from 'political intrigue'? Rahul in his discussion on the governance and politics of Tibet notes with regard to Sikkim that; 'The high lamas of Sikkim have frequently been members of the royal family and the lay upper class. The lama members of the King's Council have always been closely related to the ruling class. Reincarnations and leading lamas have always been personages of influence in the country'.¹⁰⁹ Barmiok Lama as the name suggests belonged to the most prominent lay family in Sikkim - the Barmioks. He was the son of Barmiok Athing Tenzing Wangyal (d.1926), better known to the British as 'Barmiok Kazi', who was amongst other things one of the most influential landlords in Sikkim, Chief Steward at the Chogyal of Sikkim's Palace and also a Sikkim council member. The Barmiok Lama's half brother was Barmiok Athing Tashi Dadul Densapa (1902-1988), 'the premier Lepcha Kazi in Sikkim',¹¹⁰ who was arguably the most

¹⁰⁶ *Chiefs and Leading Families in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet*. 1920, 1.

¹⁰⁷ *List of Chiefs and Leading Families in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet*. Third edition, 1933, 2.

¹⁰⁸ Bell, "Diary Volume 5, unpaginated.

¹⁰⁹ Rahul, *The Government and Politics of Tibet*, 106.

¹¹⁰ Singh, *Himalayan Triangle*, 225.



FIGURE 2.3
Barmiok Lama
Around 1920
Kindly sourced by Tashi Tsering
Courtesy of Densapa Family

important political figure in Sikkim during the twentieth century and a doyen of Sikkimese literary and historical studies.¹¹¹

The loyalty of the Barmioks of Bell's generation lay squarely with the then (ninth) Chogyal, Thutob Namgyal, but these alliances were severely tested during the tenures of Paul and White. Anglo-Sikkim tensions surfaced in 1888, as increasing pressure was placed on the Chogyal to abandon the council of Barmiok Athing Tenzing Wangyal and several other loyal Kazis, in favour of the British favourites Phodang Lama and his brother the Khangsa Dewan. When the Chogyal refused, the Kazis including the Barmiok Kazi were removed from the palace by White and ordered to return to their estates; they appealed to stay, but White unmoved threatened them with police action. These were the first signs of a major crisis in the Anglo-Sikkimese relationship that would result in the Chogyal and his wife, Yeshe Dolma (1867-1910),

¹¹¹ See, Tashi, "Barmiok Athing Tashi Dadul Densapa: Colossus of Sikkim," 37-39 for a short retrospective of his life.

being placed under house arrest initially in Kalimpong,¹¹² and then again in Gangtok, where it is recorded that they lived in a less than regal ‘bamboo hut’. To escape the overbearing pressure from the British officers and their Sikkimese accomplices the Khangsa brothers, the Chogyal made a bid for exile taking a small group of loyal supporters with him, this group included the Chogyal’s spiritual advisor, who was none other than Barmiok Jedrung Karma Palden Chogyal. They planned to find exile in Nepal and began an arduous journey to the borderlands through heavy snows, landslides and with few supplies or shelter. The few provisions they did have had to be left behind as the porters who had accompanied them began to desert the party as they became fearful for their own lives. Exhausted they entered Nepal only to be detained by the local headman and again they became cut off from food and water supplies. The group was then routed through monsoon rains for thirteen days with cholera taking hold of the party only to be handed over to British authorities, which included Laden La’s uncle Ugyen Gyatso, when they reached Simana.¹¹³ White took it upon himself to severely reprimand Barmiok Lama for going with the Chogyal into exile, but the Lama had other greater personal concerns than the threat of further house arrest, his mother was dying at the family estate. It seems that the British intended to try and delay his return to the family estate by fining him a significant sum of Rs. 200/- for trying to leave the fraught situation. He did however pay the fine and left for the Barmiok estate, but he arrived too late, his mother had already died.

The Barmiok Lama was at this early stage in his monastic career, intimately embroiled in a power struggle between the Chogyal and the British, marked by the British as a person of suspicion, a supporter of the man they wished to oust from the throne. It is unclear what kind of situation he found himself in during the following years, the men he had travelled with were put under house arrest, but it is not recorded if the Lama’s own movement were also limited. By 1894 he seems to have regained any lost freedom of movement as we again find the Lama temporarily defeated by the continual festering of the relationship between the British, the Sikkimese and the Tibetans. Like Palhese (but undoubtedly on a much smaller scale) he fell victim to Das’s covert surveillance in southern Tibet. Papers in the Densapa family archives show that he, his father and two servants were stopped at the Sikkim-Tibet border in Gnatong by Tibetan border officials suspicious of the intentions of the party.¹¹⁴ The Lama was hoping to make his way to Tibet in order to study at Tsurphu, the seat of the head of the *Karma Kagyu*

¹¹² This was just the beginning of a succession struggle that would result in the Chogyal and his wife being stripped of their rights. See, the unpublished “History of Sikkim 1908,” (English Translation) by Thutob Namgyal and Yeshe Dolma for a full account. Copies of the unpublished manuscript can be found in IOR, MSS Eur E78 and SOAS Library, MS/380072. The information recorded below comes from this unpublished history.

¹¹³ “History of Sikkim 1908,” 161-166.

¹¹⁴ This event was retold to me by Tashi Tsering on 13th April 2013.

school, the fifteenth Karmapa, Khakyab Dorje (1871–1922), but the Tibetans were in no mood to give free passage to any foreigners especially those men who were known to the British and therefore potential successors to Das. In the end it would take Barmiok Lama more than a year to gain a pass into the country and only then after he had signed a contract agreeing that he would do nothing more than study Buddhism while he was there. With the situation settled in 1896 he and his servant Achung travelled into Tibet heading for the *Nyingmapa* monastery, Mindrolling to the east of Lhasa and then to his intended destination of Tsurphu. In that same year he had the privilege of accompanying the fifteenth Karmapa to Kham in order to study with Jamgon Kongtrul the Great, Lodro Thaye (1813-1900) at one of the great seats of literature and the arts, Palpung monastery, near Derge. In total he would spend nine years in Kham and southern Tibet returning to Sikkim sometime between 1903 and 1904, a journey home that couldn't have failed to alert him to the presence of Younghusband.¹¹⁵

His family connections and his spiritual responsibilities to the Chogyal made certain that he would find it impossible to remain 'aloof from political intrigue' after his return from Tibet. On the 24th October 1905 we find him part of an eighty-person strong entourage travelling with the Chogyal. This time heading to Calcutta to witness an audience between the ninth Panchen Lama, Thubten Choekyi Nyima (1883-1937) and the Prince of Wales (later George V) (1865-1936), which took place in the early days of January 1906. The party then undertook a pilgrimage to the sacred Buddhist sites of northern India including Benares and Bodh Gaya. He would travel to Calcutta again in March 1910 this time as part of Sidkyong Tulku's entourage during the meetings between the Dalai Lama and the Viceroy (see Chapter 4) and both these occasions must have afforded the Lama the opportunity to meet with the two highest *Gelukpa* Lamas in Tibet.¹¹⁶

By 1908 and with something of a reconciliation between White and the Chogyal in place, the issue of the Barmiok Lama's official status in Sikkim became an issue at council. At a meeting on the 31st March, shortly before White's retirement, it was agreed that the Barmiok Lama should be given an annual stipend of Rs.500 in compensation for a long-standing land claim relating to Ralong monastery in southern Sikkim. The Council minutes also show that it was hoped that the annual payment would encourage the Lama to stay in Sikkim for the benefit of the state. 'He is very devout and learned man, and their Highnesses wish to retain him in Sikkim. The state stands in need of a Lama like him very badly as he is an authority upon all

¹¹⁵ David Neel remarks that Barmiok Lama returned to Tsurphu although she doesn't give a date and became the monastic secretary to the fifteenth Karmapa. See, David Neel, *Magic and Mystery in Tibet*, 28.

¹¹⁶ In 1908 Barmiok Lama is also included in the Chogyal's sixty-person strong party for a pilgrimage tour in Nepal, visiting important Buddhist sites in the Kathmandu valley including the stupas at Boudha and Swayambunath.

points of Tibetan lecture, history, theology etc'.¹¹⁷ When the question arose again in 1913 Sidkyong Tulku made his intentions very clear. 'I inform you that the duties of Barmek [sic] Lama, in my opinion, should be to preach on Buddhism to the people, lamas as well as laymen and help me in various religious matters according to my wishes'.¹¹⁸

And so it was that Bell would gain the Lama's services for precisely that 'religious matters'. He recorded in his first diary entry relating to the Barmiok Lama; 'In Christmas week 1912 the Barmiok Lama came to explain the meaning of those Tibetan curios which were concerned with religion'.¹¹⁹ This is the first time we hear of the Barmiok Lama in Bell's notebooks or diaries, but he was known to Bell before this time. He had featured in the *Lists of Leading Officials, Nobles, And Personages in Bhutan, Sikkim, and Tibet, 1907* and his father was already well known to Bell due to his secondments at the Gangtok Residency before his appointment in 1908 and more regularly once he became Political Officer for Sikkim. The two men must also have travelled together for the Hasting House audience in 1910.¹²⁰ Bell's contact with the Barmiok Lama seems likely to have come via Sidkyong Tulku, himself a devout Buddhist who took instruction from the Lama. The Lama had an apartment in the royal family's palace and so he was a close neighbour of Bell's, whose Residency boundary bordered the Chogyal's Palace. The Lama was also no stranger to instructing foreigners in the basic tenets of Buddhism. He had already assisted a friend of Sidkyong Tulku's sometime before or around 1910, the French explorer Alexandra David-Neel who was the first foreign woman to travel in disguise overland from China to Lhasa.¹²¹ She may have been something of a tolerated annoyance to the British officers in the area,¹²² but what she provides us with in her writings is a slightly more intimate view of Barmiok Lama.

¹¹⁷ SSA, Department of Finance, SI No: 4 File No: 23/1/1914-15. *Grant of Rs 500 to Barmiok Lama for permanent allowance.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Bell, "Diary Volume V," unpaginated.

¹²⁰ There is also a possibility that Barmiok Lama was already assisting Bell in his collecting activities, mainly in terms of manuscripts, as a number of manuscripts collected by Bell (and now in the Liverpool collection) were given by Barmiok Lama. In "Tibet Note Book I," 33, undated, but in between two entries dated to 1910, Bell records the Barmiok Lama giving him a manuscript entitled, "Tang-she Sel-we me-long", which, he says, gives an account of the duties of Tibetan officials, having been written in the time of the 5th Dalai Lama by a Regent of Tibet, named De-si Sangye Gyam-tso'. A very useful document for Bell to have so soon after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's arrival into British India.

¹²¹ See David-Neel, *Tibetan Journey*, for an account of her travels.

¹²² As MacKay notes in his essay, "'Truth,' Perception and Politics: The British Construction on an Image of Tibet," in *Imagining Tibet*, 67-90, her works were very popular and she also advocated the idea of Tibet being a unique culture, so she was commented on as little as possible. Laden La in actual fact arranged an audience for her with the Dalai Lama in Kalimpong in 1912, see Rhodes and Rhodes, *A Man of the Frontier: S.W. Laden La*, 23. Sge stayed in the Residency while Bell was away for the Simla conference, but he was not supportive of her due to her influence over Sidkyong Tulku. He made travel for her difficult and refused her a permit for a gun in 1916, see NAI, FD, External October 1916, Nos.13-16. Part B. *Gun license for David Neel*. Had it not been for Sidkyong Tulku's unexpected death in early 1914, Bell and David-Neel would have been close neighbours. In October 1913, the Tulku had asked Bell for permission to build a small rest house in Tibetan style for a *gomchen* (itinerant *nagpa* or *yogi*) close to

Nearly every afternoon he crossed the gardens and went to the villa where the crown-prince lived. There, in the sitting-room furnished according to English taste, we had long conversations on topics quite foreign to Westerners...I like to recall these talks which gradually enabled me to lift the veil that hides the real Tibet and its religious world...

At a short distance from the prince, the Honourable of Bermiag, majestically draped in his garnet-coloured toga,¹²³ had an arm-chair and a bowl with a silver saucer, but without a cover. As for Dawasandup, who was often present, he squatted tailor fashion (in the East they say 'like a lotus') at our feet and his bowl, placed upon the rug, had neither cover nor saucer.

The complicated and very strict Tibetan etiquette was thus obeyed. While the learned and fluent orator, Bermiag Kushog talked, we were lavishly supplied with Tibetan tea¹²⁴

Using this as a template it is possible to imagine Bell, the Barmiok Lama and on occasion, Palhese or Laden La in a similar situation at Bell's home, the Gangtok Residency, engaged in focused conversation, studying Bell's assembled collection of 'curios' intently (see Chapters 1 and 5 for discussions on the cataloguing of knowledge). David-Neel also makes another critical observation that has some impact on how we should read and interpret the information contained in the pages of *List of Curios* when she notes; 'As one of these lamas was 'Red hat,' [Barmiok Lama] and the other belonged to the 'Yellow hat' sect,¹²⁵ by listening to both, I was sure of acquiring information that represented the general opinion and not that of any one particular sect or creed'.¹²⁶ When we look at the information Barmiok Lama offered Bell on individual objects we have to be mindful that the information the Lama supplied came with a religious bias toward the *Nyingmapa* and the *Kagyupa*, and the Lama as we discuss in Chapter 6 is occasionally uncertain of use or context for particular objects as a result.¹²⁷ Bell it seems not only judged his pious nature and learning to be assets to him when creating a catalogue of his curios, but Bell saw this very specific background as a positive resource for the accurate and 'disinterested' recording of relevant information. This shows itself particularly when he jots in *List of Curios*; '(Note, the Barmiok Lama is of the Nying-ma sect and therefore presumably impartial on this point.)'.¹²⁸

both the palace and the residency compound boundaries. It is only following his death, in a follow-up letter, that Bell learns inadvertently from the palace Private Secretary that it will actually be a small house for David Neel. Needless to say Bell puts a stop to the building immediately, see SSA, Department of Durbar, SI No: 105 File No: 4/37/1914.

¹²³ On seeing the photograph of Barmiok Lama, Sherab Tharchin, the Changdzo or Manager for Goshir Gyaltzab Rinpoche (b. 1954) remarked that the Barmiok Lama was wearing a very fine cloth usually reserved for the Dalai Lama made from a raw silk, called *tse ther*. In conversation on 14th April 2013.

¹²⁴ David-Neel, *Ibid.*, 29

¹²⁵ The 'yellow hat' lama was likely Rinpoche Chozed Kusho. As the son of Lhase Kusho and the Maharani Yeshe Dölma he was the step-son of the ninth Chogyal and the half brother of Sidkyong Tulku. See entry in *Who's Who in Tibet*, 1920 edition at http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/biography_469.html

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ See also Moore, *ibid.*, 88.

¹²⁸ See *List of Curios* Nos. 22.



FIGURE 2.4
Barmiok Lama, second row, standing seven from right in monastic robes behind Charles Bell and Tashi Namgyal.
Coronation of Tashi Namgyal, Gangtok, 15th May, 1916
Courtesy of a Private Collection

Despite the Barmiok Lama playing such a significant role in the cataloguing and future interpretation of Bell's objects for a museum audience, the relationship the two men had appears to have been constrained by other commitments. Regardless of the fact that the British and the Royal family wanted to keep the Barmiok Lama in Sikkim it seems that after his meetings with the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama, the initial difficulties he had encountered travelling to Tibet faded and he spent significant amounts of time travelling between Sikkim and Tibet. We find him again in Bell diaries only as late as 1916, when he visited Bell and Macdonald at Yatung, where he was likely returning to Tibet following his overseeing the eleventh Chogyal, Tashi Namgyal's installation in May (figure 2.4).¹²⁹ This would be the last reference Bell made to the Lama. Their meeting over objects would be fleeting, but its impact on how we see Bell engaging with the Tibetan material world would be immense. At the time their discussions over the winter months of 1912-13, may have seemed merely a distraction from the cold, dark days of a Gangtok

¹²⁹ He may have had more freedom to travel across the border, but it seems the Tibetans were still keeping a watchful eye on him. During his visit to Bell and Macdonald he complained about the Tibetan postal service saying that letters were not getting to him. Later, Macdonald tells Bell, 'but of course the Barmiok Lama's letters would be thought to contain confidential matters and the post masters would be tempted to open them. The present head of the Tibetan Post Office has issued orders that the post masters must not open letters'. Bell, "Diary Volume VI," 48.

winter, an excellent winter project for Bell who had recently had so many Tibetan objects come into his possession. But for those of us making sense of Bell's curios and his cataloguing of them this would be almost as significant a relationship as the one he would have with another lama, the Dalai Lama.

Final Thoughts on Three Men

It was important in this chapter to move Bell from centre stage and focus on just three of the exceptional men who Bell surrounded himself with. As the biographies of these men have shown us, each had very specialised forms of knowledge, each used different networks and were either bilingual or understood the intricacies of highly specialised forms of language. It is important that we understand these men as rounded human-beings, and not just a footnote in the retelling of the Anglo-Tibetan encounter. These men were not peripheral characters; they played a central and connective role in a variety of situations from decision making on frontier policy to defining objects and producing descriptions that have remained with those objects for a century. They made the difference between success and failure. We must always remember they were not merely two-dimensional 'local knowledge' whose lives could be summed up in a sentence, but they were men who had familial, monastic and professional concerns that went far beyond the confines of the Gangtok Residency. Bell had an intellectual honesty that was rare in the latter stages of the colonial project. He never shied away from the fact that the men he worked with had helped him become the man he was. It therefore seems only right that in writing about Bell, we should acknowledge that debt here and what particular form that debt took.

While for us Bell was the common thread that bound this group of men together, it is interesting to see how far the colonial experience had played a part in their lives before their connection to Bell materialised. For Palhese and Barmiok Lama the Anglo-Tibetan encounter had a profound effect on their early lives. While Achuk Tsering's experience may have been less traumatic he was nevertheless through his education and employment shaped by British India ideology. As Hallisey rightly argues; 'The notion that there are geographical spaces with indigenous, radically "different" inhabitants who can be defined on the basis of some religion, culture, or racial essence proper to that geographical space is... a highly debatable idea'.¹³⁰ Both the European and the Himalayan men had clearly been touched by the same events, although each viewed the encounter from their personal perspectives. While Bell sought out men like Palhese and Barmiok Lama because their place in their own, perceived to be, distinct, separated

¹³⁰ Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravada Buddhism", 32.

society left them in Bell's mind somehow unprejudiced or neutral was in reality a fiction. They had already had significant contact with the British, but in a less formalized indoctrinated manner than the training regimes of the Bhutia Boarding Schools. These men were not only different, but they were also connected in multiple ways to the wider Anglo-Tibetan encounter.

The myriad voices found in Bell's collection of curios and the surrounding archive shout out at different frequencies from the various photographs, diary pages and objects that Bell surrounded himself with. Dirks lamented that; 'Colonized voices have been written over even where they were most deeply inscribed in the early archives of colonial knowledge'.¹³¹ Despite a lack of or unevenness in the documentation or the survival or otherwise of personal accounts some of those voices have been reclaimed from the rubbed out narratives of the colonial project. Some of the faintest voices that once mingled with Bell's own have now been reattached, to varying degrees, to the men who owned them.

¹³¹ Dirks, "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: The Biography of an Archive," 309.



Charles Bell's 'Tibetan 'Curios'

Agendas, Agency and Approaches to Collecting

a silver tray on which the treaty was taken up to the Potala to be signed was, on the return of the Tibet Mission to India, left at Gyantse...Captain Bailey is anxious to possess it

Mr Gould says... [h]e is not aware of its history, or whether it is the property of Government. The tray has ordinarily been used in the Agency for the purpose of bringing in tea when distinguished visitors have been present. Mr Gould requests that, if it is disposed of, it may be replaced.¹

When Susan Pearce remarked; 'Collections, like human lives, are seldom entirely all they seem, and much of their significance is on the inside',² one wonders if she knew of the Gyantse tea tray. This silver tea tray, used to serve anyone of note in the mess room of the Gyantse British Trade Agency in Tibet was causing collector's anxiety for its would-be 'possessor' Bailey, the erstwhile British Trade Agent at Gyantse (served 1905, 1907-1909). While this tray did not look much to Basil Gould his successor (served 1912-13), this was a clear case of an object's beauty being in the eye of the beholder, where the significance was hidden under layers of tea stains and was very much 'on the inside'.

In June 1903, just one month before Younghusband and his military escort left to supposedly begin trade negotiations with the Lhasa government on the Tibetan borders, the tea tray in question was purchased for Rs.700 by John Claude White (Joint Commissioner during the expedition).³ As it was packed into one of the seemingly infinite number of crates that would be strapped to the mules and yaks that would make up the expedition's supply chain, the tray at this moment in time seemed destined for a life of tea servitude. However, as the Younghusband

¹ NAI, FD, General. April 1912 Nos.48.Part B.

² Pearce, *On Collecting*, 245.

³ This was not an inconsiderable sum, as White's salary was noted to be between Rs 1000-1800 per month during his tenure. Bell, "Sikkim and General Notebook," unpaginated.

Mission became an invasion and as the punitive expedition pushed on into Tibet leaving looting, massacres and destruction in its wake, the tea tray and its role in this disastrous juncture in Anglo-Tibetan relations would undergo a remarkable transformation. Instead of being given as an impromptu gift along the way, the tray arrived in Lhasa on the 3rd August 1904 and there it waited patiently for its moment. Once in Lhasa, Younghusband began the process of reaching a unilateral treaty with the skeleton Lhasa government, who had been left behind to protect the country, after the Dalai Lama had fled on the Nechung Oracle's instructions to Urga, Mongolia. In the following month, September 1904, the tea things were removed from the tray and it was taken with Younghusband to the Potala Palace, the residence of the Dalai Lama and the heart of the Lhasa government, the *Ganden Phodrang*. The tray presented to the assembled crowd now offered up not pots of tea, but the ill-fated Anglo-Tibetan Agreement of 1904 for both Younghusband and the acting Tibetan Prime Minister Ganden Tri Rinpoche to sign and seal. Eight years later, having now ascertained that the tray was still stowed away in the Trade Agency's kitchen in Gyantse, Bailey became desperate to possess it. He had been a junior officer on the Younghusband expedition and despite amassing a collection of loot and bazaar buys as the expedition progressed; his anxious, nervous correspondence with the British India Treasury Registrar, G Marshall tells us that the tray was for Bailey akin to the Holy Grail.

Today, one hundred years later, we can read this unprepossessing silver tray as a truly entangled or networked object, one that as its journey progressed from the borders of Tibet to Lhasa became codified with multiple meanings. Not only did it signify in a literal sense the completion of the most depressing and damaging episode in Anglo-Tibetan relations, but it marked the beginnings of Tibet's fight for independence and its eventual invasion and occupation by the Chinese. Bell, not a supporter of Younghusband (or Bailey for that matter) felt that; 'By going in and then coming out again, we knocked the Tibetans down and left them for the first comer to kick'.⁴ For Bailey however, the metonymic value of the tray was connected to personal memories of a very positive kind. Serving on this military expedition would have elicited a range of emotions in him from exhilaration to triumph all tied up with the knowledge that he was partaking in a real boy's own adventure.⁵ For him the tray would act as a souvenir of his exploits during the campaign, and a signifier of a never to be repeated moment when British imperial ambitions gained a foothold in the 'forbidden city'. Although Bailey actually took the expedition's photograph of the treaty signing in the Potala that day this wasn't enough.⁶ He

⁴ Bell, *Tibet: Past & Present*, 71

⁵ A popular English language Indian newspaper declared, 'The adventures of Lt Col F M Bailey in Central Asia constitute one of romances of the Indian Political Service,' *The Pioneer*, 1920.

⁶ Harris, *The Museum on the Roof of the World*, 279n.

needed the tray to make his involvement tangible and to signal what Fabian would describe as his, ‘proof of having been there’.⁷ Despite his yearnings it was not to be. Reynolds, Deputy Secretary in the Foreign Office, had other plans and having seen the tray he declared that; ‘the tray received from Gyantse should be kept in the Toshakhana [Government ‘Treasury] as a relic’.⁸ The tray then, was no longer to be a personal souvenir, instead it’s placement in the imperial treasury suggested it was capable, in the eyes of the Foreign Office staff, of holding a national memory of this singular event. This tray was to become a relic, a double-edged thing of the past that recorded not only a moment of imperial ‘triumph’ in 1904 Tibet, but also, with hindsight, the now dead Himalayan policies of Viceroy, Lord Curzon. It was something worth preserving for the post-Younghusband generation of frontiers men to muse upon. Especially as the possibility of the British signing further treaties in Lhasa, never mind military intervention, was by 1912 already history and very much a relic of a bygone age.⁹

Here we return to ‘curios’ by setting the scene for this chapter on Bell’s collecting motivations and activities with an ode to Stewart’s *On Longing*, told through the story of a tray and Bailey’s yearnings for it. The archives relating to the tray and its imagined potency provide us with a front row seat as we watch the myths surrounding an innocuous-looking object form (and fall down again) before our eyes. Stewart points us to the idea that an object; ‘will not function without the supplementary narrative discourse that both attaches it to its origins and creates a myth with regard to those origins’.¹⁰ And when an object like the Gyantse tray is wrapped in a narrative like this an aura certainly begins to form around it and rather than the object living out its life as just one of many others it becomes singular, one of a kind. What we see here is that the narrative activates the process of metamorphosis, performing the duties of an alchemist.

The changing fortunes of this tray also highlight the regimes of value that emerge here. We see an object that at any given moment can be read as gift, diplomatic tool of oppression, household item, trophy or relic, the polarity of ‘gift’ and ‘commodity’ no longer applies here. Like the tray, Bell’s assemblage of things, could at first glance appear to be nothing more than an

⁷ Fabian, “Curios and curiosity: Notes on reading Torday and Frobenius,” 81.

⁸ NAI, FD, General. April 1912, Nos.48. Part B.

⁹ The potency of this tray and its multiple personalities does not rest there. An inquisitive Captain Trench of the Foreign Office asked Charles Bell what else is noted in the record books as being purchased for the Mission. Bell reports that, ‘From the Tibet Mission records it appears that: - 1. Silver Salver (No. 186) value Rs.700, 1. Silver Salver (No. 188) value Rs. 140, 1 Pair silver candlesticks (No. 105) value Rs.88 were purchased from Messrs Hamilton and Company on the 8th June 1903, and they were disposed of as under:-

1. Silver Salver Rs.700/- presented to Timbu Jongpen at Tuna on 21st March 1904

2. Silver Salver Rs.140/- presented to Shigatse Officers on 22nd August 1903.

3. One pair silver candlesticks - Rs.88/- presented to a Depon on 20th July 1903.

The silver tray sent to the Foreign Department by Gould may be another one, unless there is some mistake in the entry in the Toshakhana list maintained by the ‘Tibet Mission’ (ibid). This leaves us with the tantalizing possibility that this newly acquired, and now sadly unlocated, national relic was indeed as always intended just a tea tray.

¹⁰ Stewart, *On Longing*, xi.

accumulation of objects, the detritus of life that had attached itself to Bell as his career unfolded in the Himalaya. However, as we begin to think through Bell's curios we will see a scale of collecting motivations and how, like Bailey, Bell sought out specific objects that would take on a range of roles from narrator, to informer, to memorial. Like the tray many of Bell's objects would have gone unnoticed without their multiple narrations, often one layered on top of the other by those who had made in Bell's mind a passing or profound impact on the object in question.

"Thinking through things"¹¹ to understand collecting and collectors is a relatively new phenomenon when it comes to Tibet. For the most part what we understand of collecting in this context has been overshadowed unsurprisingly by the events that took place during the Younghusband punitive expedition of 1903-04.¹² The looting, destruction and the subsequent mass removal of Tibetan material culture that took place during this short period is now being mapped and re-evaluated by a number of researchers. This rethinking has helped to shed light on the contested histories that many Tibetan objects hold, revealing their fate in the hands of the British empire and its officers.

Bell, unlike White who came before him and Bailey who succeeded him, did not have any direct involvement in the Younghusband expedition. Therefore, Bell, his collection and his personal unpublished catalogue the *List of Curios* has been untainted by the label of Younghusband loot and avarice. In the museum context Bell's collection has come to be understood in terms of the friendships he built and the gifts he received during his time in the Himalaya. This dominant narrative of gift exchange which pervades Bell's collection stems from a small handful of occasions when he mentioned gift exchange in his published works,¹³ or from the entries of objects and their well-known giver's name in *List of Curios*. Within this collecting context these objects and their narratives have come to represent a positive and acceptable face of the Anglo-Tibetan encounter, offering up a counterbalance to the more violent and one-sided events presided over by Younghusband.¹⁴

Cheang, who had to decipher a group of identikit 'Dogs of Fo' amassed by a single collector echoed Stewart when she argued; 'That which distinguishes collection from

¹¹ I take this phrase from Henare, *Thinking Through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*.

¹² Harris, *ibid.*, Myatt, *ibid.*, Carrington, *ibid.*, Moore, *ibid.* and also Inbal Livne, "Tibetan collections in Scottish museums 1890-1930: a critical historiography of missionary and military intent,". Lindsay Zamponi (SOAS) is also working on a PhD which includes a survey of UK Tibet collections and their respective collectors (including Waddell and Younghusband) with emphasis on the British Museum collections.

¹³ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 123.

¹⁴ This narrative is most pointedly featured in Liverpool's World Museum displays; *Tibet and the British*, which features five British 'collectors' of Himalayan material culture. More recently Harris concluded her chapter on collectors known to have looted during the Younghusband punitive expedition by juxtaposing them with Bell's 'laudable' collecting practices in her book, *Museum on the Roof of the World*, 77.

accumulation is said to be system or purpose, so that when a new object is added to the collection it is severed from its origins and takes on the meaning generated by its new context - the context of the collection.¹⁵ I hope to show that Bell also generated new meanings through the collecting choices he made and through the omission of crucial details regarding the context in which his 'curios' were collected. In his role as narrator, he denied his collection an alternative account that underpinned many of his object's biographies, a narrative of political agendas, Anglo-Tibetan diplomacy and preliminary arms deals. As the following chapters will show, a gift in British India, caught in the bureaucracy and protocols of the British Indian government, was anything but benign or passive, it had to be chosen, it had to be claimed, it undoubtedly had to be collected.

But gift exchange and gift giving was just one way in which Bell built his collection. He did in fact have several motivations for collecting and in this chapter we will see those modes of acquisition unfold. We will move through a number of what I term 'collecting sites', which Bell occupied at various points in his collecting life. While these sites will be referred to geographically they should in reality be understood as conceptual sites, highlighting the changing collecting agendas Bell worked through during his time in the Himalaya. His collection will show his early uncertainties when collecting and his occasional mimicry of the pre-Younghusband expedition era collectors and their objects at a time when he bought curios to make sense of his new Himalayan role. His buying back of specific objects from important gift exchanges was a practice that would lay the foundation for his own collector myth, while his pursuit of prestige as a collector and a diplomat led him to become not only a great admirer of Tibetan aristocratic taste and aesthetics, but a consumer of it too.

Darjeeling and Kalimpong: Learning Tibetan

Having arrived in India in 1891, Bell had ample opportunity to lay the foundations for a collecting narrative before he was sent to Darjeeling in 1900, but Bell seems to have been neither a scholar nor a collector on the plains. Whether this was down to the demands of his new career, the seemingly endless waves of debilitating illness, a lack of money or a simple lack of interest, there is no hint of a concern for collecting during those formative years of his colonial career. Without any material evidence for this period of his life, it is a considerable effort to construct even a skeletal outline of his first decade in Orissa, Bihar and Bengal and for now it is impossible

¹⁵ Cheang, "The Dogs of Fo: Gender, Identity and Collecting," 61.

to know if he engaged with objects at all.¹⁶ But as he began to establish himself in Darjeeling Bell could not have failed to see that Darjeeling was a place where collecting mattered. By 1900, Darjeeling was a bustling British India hillstation, a nexus for Himalayan traders and a place with a reputation for Tibetan ‘curios’. By the turn of the twentieth century, Darjeeling was a place where the tourist could indulge in a spot of ethnographic curiosity, what Kennedy describes as an appreciation of the, ‘picturesque primitive’.¹⁷ With the opening of the Darjeeling narrow gauge railway in 1881, the north-eastern Himalaya suddenly became accessible as guidebooks of the 1890s whetted the appetite of the first time visitor to Darjeeling with suggested tours of the local Lepcha, Bhutia and Tibetan communities with their exotic costumes and habitats.¹⁸ As with any tourist destination today, the guidebooks also noted that there was every opportunity to consume. The ready availability of postcards and photographs, handicrafts, and other locally manufactured curios ensured that there was a steady supply of tourist items for those who wanted to take a souvenir home.¹⁹ The less adventurous didn’t even have to leave their armchair to indulge in a spot of curio collecting with an 1896 guidebook informing its readers that; ‘The hotels and boarding houses are often visited by traders in curiosities of sorts, prayer wheels may be bought, but these rarely contain the genuine sacred writings of the Buddhists; the makers are satisfied with inserting strips of old newspaper’.²⁰ Bell could not have been immune to all that was available here and when Bell talks of ‘learning Tibetan’,²¹ we should understand this not only in a linguistic sense, but quite clearly in a material sense too.

Nevertheless, wherever there was a tourist looking to possess an authentic piece of the Himalaya one could also find a local curio seller and his fakes ready to dupe the unsuspecting tourist out of their holiday rupees. As Waddell complained as early as 1894, ‘the streets of Darjeeling were filled with Tibetan peddlers selling ‘curios’ of dubious provenance to British tourists’.²² The Darjeeling Sunday bazaar was the focal point for these dubious curios and as the

¹⁶ Two small metal figures (a four-armed Ganesha and a stylistically identical four-armed Lakshmi/Tara) in a private collection did initially raise the possibility that Bell had shown some interest in collecting Hindu material culture during his time on the plains, but on reflection it is highly likely that these figures were collected within a Tibetan context, as the four-armed Ganesha is present in the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon (see, <http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=207> accessed 18th November 2012). The small number of photographs we have from this period appear in Bell Album 4 (NML collection 50.31.151) see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.151&coll=1&page=1&theItemId=6> they number just seven photographs in total.

¹⁷ Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj*, 82.

¹⁸ See Caine, *Picturesque India: A Handbook for European Travellers*, 356 and Rees, *Lord Connemara's Tours in India*, 216.

¹⁹ See Harris, *Museum on the Roof of the World*, 86-96 for the first assessment of the Darjeeling photographic studios and their contribution to the gathering of colonial knowledge relating to Tibet.

²⁰ *Illustrated Guide for Tourists to The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway and Darjeeling 1896*, 41

²¹ ‘As soon as I was able to leave the hospital, I set about learning Tibetan in the hope of employment and better health in the cooler regions of Tibet or the borderlands’. Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 23-24.

²² Harris, *ibid.*, 45. Collectors were still finding objects to add to their collection in Darjeeling that were not newly manufactured curios. John W Innes Wright for example was making purchases in the 1890s from Tibetan pilgrims

1896 guidebook suggested, objects with religious signifiers were the most popular buys, particularly the already mentioned prayer wheels, amulets, and skull drums.²³ Macdonald in his much later guidebook to Sikkim and Tibet warned his readers that if they were considering buying a ‘valuable curio’ as opposed to a cheap roadside souvenir then, ‘Unless specimens are obtained from a reputable dealer, the visitor is very likely to be swindled badly. Especially is this the case in Darjeeling, which town is getting an unenviable reputation for fakes’.²⁴ This then was undoubtedly a difficult collecting space for the novice Tibet collector to negotiate.

Despite this the origins of Bell’s collection of curios seems to be located in Darjeeling with his first dated acquisition recorded as 1901-02. No.144 in *List of Curios* hints at a beginning. His first acquisition does not sound all that encouraging for a researcher hoping to find the inalienable in the archives, but this purchase would nevertheless have been of some value in Bell’s programme of ‘learning Tibetan’. It was; ‘A picture of a Tibetan gentlemen and lady drinking tea, sitting at tables’. Although Bell does not say where he bought the picture he does tell us who he purchased it from, ‘Tandrin Gompo the painter’, who, ‘sold me the picture’. Suddenly, our interest should be piqued, for here is a Tibetan painter who appears to be producing non-religious pictures showing domestic scenes of the Tibetan aristocracy in the act of drinking tea, this short description leads me to think that this curious painting was heavily influenced by the tourist trade in Darjeeling.

Harris’s account of the Darjeeling photographic studios and the creation and reproduction of staged photographic portraits of stylized Tibetans perhaps provides the necessary means to read this early purchase.²⁵ The short description of the picture in *List of Curios* is striking in that this appears to be a very unusual subject for a Tibetan painter. The training of a painter in the Tibetan context would still in the early twentieth century have been tied to the creation of *thangka* (meditational paintings) and monastery murals. Meaning that the subject matter would have been almost exclusively religious in content and despite the numerous schools and individual styles of execution, the guiding principles of iconography and iconometry that is, the creation of a Buddhist figure to meet the accepted principles of symmetry and proportion, would still have been the defining feature of Tibetan practice in the early twentieth century. The recording of a lady and gentleman taking tea, suggests a very different style of painting, one that

who were stopping in Darjeeling and nearby Ghoom. See, Livne, *ibid.*, and the Innes Wright collections at NML accession groups 9.10.97, 11.10.98 and 22.10.03, deposited in the museum in 1897, 1898, 1903 respectively.

²³ Kennedy, *ibid.*, 82.

²⁴ Macdonald, *Touring in Sikkim & Tibet*, 23.

²⁵ An alternative route into reading this painting might be through the local amateur artists group in Darjeeling, which showed their collective works in ‘Fine Art Exhibitions’. See Dohman, “Memsahibs and the ‘Sunny East’: Representations of British India by Millicent Douglas Pilkington and Beryl White,” 172.



FIGURE 3.1
Stylised paintings of Tibet and Tibetans hanging in front of a curio shop
Darjeeling
January 2014
Author's photograph

had more in common with the tourist market and the photographic studios than with the Tibetan monastery.

I can only surmise that this picture may have been a copy of or a variation on one of the many studio portraits or staged scenes of Tibetans circulating in Darjeeling at that time.²⁶ As Harris shows, 'Picture postcards complemented this trade [in curios] by illustrating Tibetans using or wearing such items. It seems that no portrait of a Tibetan was complete without as many of these tangible markers of difference as possible'.²⁷ While Harris in this instance is referring to the use of religious tangible markers, today, in Darjeeling, there is still a distinct style of painting, reminiscent of a *thangka* in its construction that portrays Tibetans with their tangible markers of difference (figure 3.1). Could these stylized portraits be our link to the paintings of Tandrin

²⁶ A second picture by the same artist strengthens this argument somewhat. *List of Curios* No. 135, 'Picture painted by Tam-drin Gömpo, a Tibetan artist. The Dalai Lama blessing pilgrims. At each side of him an aide-de-camp (Dro-nyer) stands holding a stick of incense'. This picture's purchase is undated, but its description reminds us of the photographs taken by Henry Martin or Macdonald in Yatung, when the Dalai Lama was leaving exile in 1912 (PRM 1998.286.36.1, Bell Collection). Could this picture have been inspired by the photographs? Alternatively, if acquired before 1907, could Bell have purchased this picture as a source of intelligence as the British did not have a photograph of the Dalai Lama prior to 1907, when Bell bought one in Beijing, Bell, "Diary Volume 4," unpaginated.

²⁷ Harris, *ibid.*, 93.

Gompo? As a possible photographic copy, I would also suggest this to be an early 'likeness' portrait by a Tibetan artist, which combined both Tibetan and European artistic sensitivities in the same way Indian and European painting traditions came together in Company paintings.²⁸ As this painting has not been traced it is difficult to say for certain that this was the case, but the fact that the picture can no longer be found in any of the dispersed Bell collections suggests it may well have been considered unworthy of retention either much later by Bell or by Bell's family following his death.²⁹

We may wonder why Bell might buy an item so squarely directed at the tourist market. Bell may well have purchased this picture in order to gain some small insight into the Tibetan aristocracy and their culture (both material and intangible) and in this context we can argue that this was a safe purchase. Knowing Walsh, Laden La and Macdonald, who all to varying degrees had an interest in Tibetan material culture, Bell would have been well aware of the market in fakes and locally made curios in Darjeeling and by purchasing a new artwork directly from the artist, he may have seen this as a way of avoiding the many pitfalls that Darjeeling had to offer. Bell had much to learn and was at this stage a Tibetan novice and this aesthetically familiar curio used techniques and imagery that were highly readable to a new arrival. The drinking of tea would also have been noted as a common social practice shared by the British and the Tibetans and we see this idea of a tea-drinking nation appearing again, this time in a copper teapot Bell purchased from the Kalimpong *Mela* in 1903 and which Bell catalogued as No. 36 in *List of Curios*. The recording of this date by Bell suggests this was his second curio purchase.

The maelstrom of Tibetan 'curio' consumption that confronted Bell in Darjeeling may have steered him away from buying anything more than a locally produced painting, but Kalimpong offered much better opportunities when he moved there sometime in late 1901 to undertake the Kalimpong settlement survey. Macdonald portrayed Kalimpong as a slightly less pressurised space for collecting and with fewer tourists. 'Purchases are better made in Kalimpong...Prices in Kalimpong also run somewhat lower than elsewhere, at present'.³⁰ The Kalimpong *Mela* was in particular a space where Bell could buy knowing he had not been sold a fake, but an 'authentic' Tibetan object. Despite its Hindi name, the Kalimpong *Mela* was a British

²⁸ See Shakya's discussion of 'likeness paintings' in "Cities and Thrones and Powers: The British and the Tibetans in Lhasa, 1936-1947," 108-110 and also Norbu's essay on non-traditional Tibetan painting, "Beyond Icons and Iconography," 35-41. See also the likeness paintings found in Gedun Choephel's diaries of his travels across India in the 1930s-40s, see Lopez Jr, *Gendun Chopel: Tibet's First Modern Artist*. McGranahan also features and discusses the use of 'likeness' paintings by the Tibetan freedom fighters in her book *Arrested Histories* and National Museums Liverpool has a group of six 'likeness' paintings created by Tibetan refugees in Darjeeling in the early 1960s that bear witness to the destruction, struggle sessions and looting carried out by the Chinese, during the 'Peaceful Liberation' of Tibet in 1959. See NML accession group, 1964.232.

²⁹ It is also telling that this picture is recorded as late as No. 144 in The *List of Curios*. Did he forget about its existence? Neither did he ask for an opinion from either Barmiok Lama or Palhese on the merits of the picture.

³⁰ Macdonald, *ibid*.

or more specifically a Scottish construct devised in 1891 by the Scottish missionary Dr John Graham and his wife Katherine, both well-known for the eponymously named Dr Graham Homes.³¹ The *Mela* which took place each December was planned in the manner of a British-style summer carnival or agricultural fair designed to create a celebratory focus for the diverse communities in the area.³² It became a regular fixture in the Tibetan traders' calendar, with sellers bringing their Lhasa-made goods to the town especially for the fair.³³ This was all facilitated by Katherine Graham who sold; 'curios from Lhasa - the result of the developing trade between Tibet and Kalimpong. Massive teapots in brass, copper and silver censers and carved wooden tables all found a ready market'.³⁴ This trade had become a subsidiary of her successful arts and crafts programme, which employed local women in carpet and lace making. And so with this framework in place, here at the *Mela*, Bell could buy with confidence. He knew he was getting an item recently arrived from Lhasa, screened by a woman who had an understanding of Tibetan aesthetics and who guaranteed her stock was Tibetan and not locally produced for the Kalimpong bazaar. With few Tibetan aristocrats in the Darjeeling and Kalimpong area in the first few years of the twentieth century, this tourist picture and teapot suggest the types of material sources Bell had at his disposal in the first months of his Himalayan career. They are important for us in that they are an early marker of his Tibetan material knowledge.

These two dated acquisitions help us to tentatively map out Bell's collecting motivations at this early stage, giving us the means to pencil in a timeline of sorts for his collecting activity. Despite the lack of recorded dates for several other objects catalogued at the beginning of *List of Curios* there are a number of likely candidates for other early acquisitions. It is these acquisitions that suggest Bell was beginning to acquaint himself with the writings of a man who had published several books on Tibet and particularly Tibetan Buddhism or 'Lamaism', L A Waddell. Bell as we have already seen in Chapter 1 was undoubtedly part of the 'epistemological lineage' that Harris comments on in her essay on British photographic encounters with Tibet.³⁵ Even at the very height of his career Bell would still refer to Waddell's books, noting them as he planned his own trip to Lhasa in 1920-21 in his, 'Things and people to take to Lhasa' list.³⁶ Furthermore, as he sketched out a plan for his future publications he made a note to self to consult Waddell's

³¹ The Dr Graham Homes was established in 1900 to give a home and education to Anglo-Indian children. The Home still dominates Kalimpong today, with children coming from across the Himalaya to live and study there.

³² See Minto, *Graham of Kalimpong*, 95, Macdonald, *ibid.*, 82, Graham, *On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands*, 102.

³³ Graham, *ibid.*, 103.

³⁴ Minto, *ibid.*

³⁵ Harris, "Seeing Lhasa: British Photographic and Filmic Engagement with Tibet 1936-1947," 74n.

³⁶ Bell, "Tibet Note Book II," unpaginated. Bell in later life was also influential in the thinking of the younger generation of British officers working in Tibet. In a letter from Hugh Richardson to Bell dated 27th October 1937, Richardson tells Bell, 'To all of us, too, who have dealings with Tibet you are a household word... and your books are the basis of our studies of Tibetan' (Private collection).

descriptions of Lhasa as inspiration for his own descriptive accounts of what he had encountered during his own Lhasa mission.³⁷ Twenty years earlier, Bell with his new found interest in Tibet would have been quick to consume any newly published academic work that would give him a toehold in the Himalaya. For McMillin, Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* was a critical component in the formation of knowledge and a must-have for any budding colonial officer at the turn of the twentieth century.

Waddell's work helped to put Tibet on the map. As an ostensibly scholarly and 'objective' work, his 1895 book was designed not for those who wished to become Tibetan Buddhists but for those who wished to comprehend it as an interesting foreign, and sometimes repugnant, object³⁸

I suggest here that this lineage also had a material basis, the evidence for which can be found in *List of Curios*. Despite Bell's heavy reliance on the men we have already met for his material understanding and cataloguing practices, in *List of Curios* on a few occasions, he referred to a text in order to both validate his acquisitions and to act as comparator. The text he referred to was, 'Waddell's Lamaism'.³⁹

These literary references establish a material connection between Bell and Waddell, suggesting that Bell was using Waddell's book not only as a guide for his early forays into collecting, but to make sense of the objects once they had been acquired. Bell seems to have followed his 'guidebook' very closely, *List of Curios* No. 12 being a case in point. The collecting of religious objects that threw some light on the esoteric rituals of Tibetan Buddhism became a reoccurring theme in the collecting undertaken by British India officers on the Himalayan frontier. Principle among them were the skull cup or *thod pa*, the 'devil dagger' or *phur ba*, the amulet box or *ga'u* and the set of objects associated with libation; the *serkyem*. Throughout his book Waddell used his collection to authenticate and illustrate the ritual practices he described. As McMillin has already commented on and which Harris graphically describes in her chapter on colonial collectors Waddell was anything but complimentary in his descriptions of Tibetan Buddhist practice. He preferred to create a world for his readers that consisted of devil worship and 'malign monsters', but despite this his ethnographic approach both to his research and in his publications show, as Harris notes, that; 'objects were assigned a high priority', as Waddell itemized his finds and illustrated them'.⁴⁰ This approach to 'learning Tibetan' appears to have had a significant influence on Bell. While he may not have been a collector on the plains of India,

³⁷ See IOR, Eur Mss F80/217 Undated.

³⁸ McMillin, *English in Tibet, Tibet in English*, 75-76.

³⁹ We see this again when Bell travels to China and Japan for the first time in 1907 as he creates descriptions of objects he brought in Canton using S W Bushell's influential *Chinese Art* (1904).

⁴⁰ Harris, *Museum on the Roof of the World*, 46.

Waddell's methods made a clear case to Bell that if he wanted to succeed as a Himalayan officer he would need to take a material approach to his learning, and a very specific part of his knowledge should come from the collecting and understanding of objects.⁴¹

In those early collecting days we could say that in Bell's case imitation was the greatest form of flattery. On page 225 of Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet* we find a photograph of two silver libation or *serkyem* vessels from Waddell's own collection. They were included here to illustrate the instruments of ritual practice that Waddell usefully informs us are all; 'more or less mixed up with demonolatrý'.⁴² Waddell refers to the *serkyem* rituals associated with these vessels in several different contexts throughout his book, highlighting their significance and multiple uses in ritual practice. Knowing this, if we then turn to the first dozen entries found in *List of Curios* we see a full set of *serkyem* vessels (*List of Curios* No. 9) and of interest to us, No.12, a copper libation ewer or *cha-ma bum-pa*.⁴³ If we sit Waddell's and Bell's respective ewers side by side, the similarities are more than obvious (figure 3.2). Although as a junior officer without a private income Bell perhaps at this time could not afford to emulate Waddell in his purchase of a silver *cha-ma bum-pa*. This is just one of several objects featuring in the first few entries of *List of Curios* that are clearly indebted to Waddell's own collecting approach and indeed his perceptions of Tibetan Buddhism.⁴⁴ The three "devil daggers" or *phur ba*,⁴⁵ the figures and representations of powerful (also known as wrathful) Buddhist protectors,⁴⁶ and the accoutrements of "devil worship" including the ewers and incense burners collected by Bell are those that Waddell himself collected as, 'evidence of the "barbarous" Buddhism practiced' in Tibet.⁴⁷

Collecting Tibet then in the very early years of the twentieth century for a newcomer like Bell was not without its limitations and can be described as deeply problematic on several levels. His lack of knowledge was an obvious barrier to collecting and the predatory relationship between the curio dealer and his customer in the popular hillstations of Darjeeling and

⁴¹ Bell continued to collect in an ethnographic sense throughout his career, as Moore notes, 'there are some instances when Bell has evidently bought objects to 'go with' others. He describes buying a rosary from Pa-lhe-se "for wearing with my Tibetan Minister's dress, the yellow one...It should not be worn with my Bhutanese dress" (LOC:88). More significantly, Bell bought what seems to be a complete 'set' of agricultural tools from Gyantse, noting their Tibetan names against his English ones (LOC:83)' (Moore 2001: 94).

⁴² Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 449.

⁴³ See *List of Curios* No. 12, now BM 1933.05.08.14

⁴⁴ Bell's appreciation of Tibetan Buddhism as opposed to Tibetan culture was a complex one and he was not immune to using derogatory terms to describe Tibetan Buddhism throughout his career. See, IOR, Eur Mss F80/205 File XXIV November 1921, IOR/L/PS/10/221, Pt 2 - File 505/1912 Pt 2 Sikkim and Bhutan: political control 1907-1912 and in Bell's piece for *The Daily Chronicle* in 1930 when he states, 'But Tibet is the most priest-ridden country in the world'. McKay also notes that Bell contributed to a report that, 'also described Tibetan Buddhism as "a disastrous parasitic disease." But this discourse must be seen in context; it was produced by a state of Anglo-Tibetan conflict, and these negative images were, in general, characteristic only of that period [1899-1905]', McKay, "'Truth,' Perception and Politics: The British Construction on an Image of Tibet," 71.

⁴⁵ See *List of Curios* No. 1, location unknown, No.3, now BM 1933.0508,2 and No. 8, now likely BM 1933.0508,52

⁴⁶ See *List of Curios* No. 2, now BM 1933.0508,1 and *List of Curios* No.10, now NML 50.31.62

⁴⁷ Harris, *ibid.*, 46.

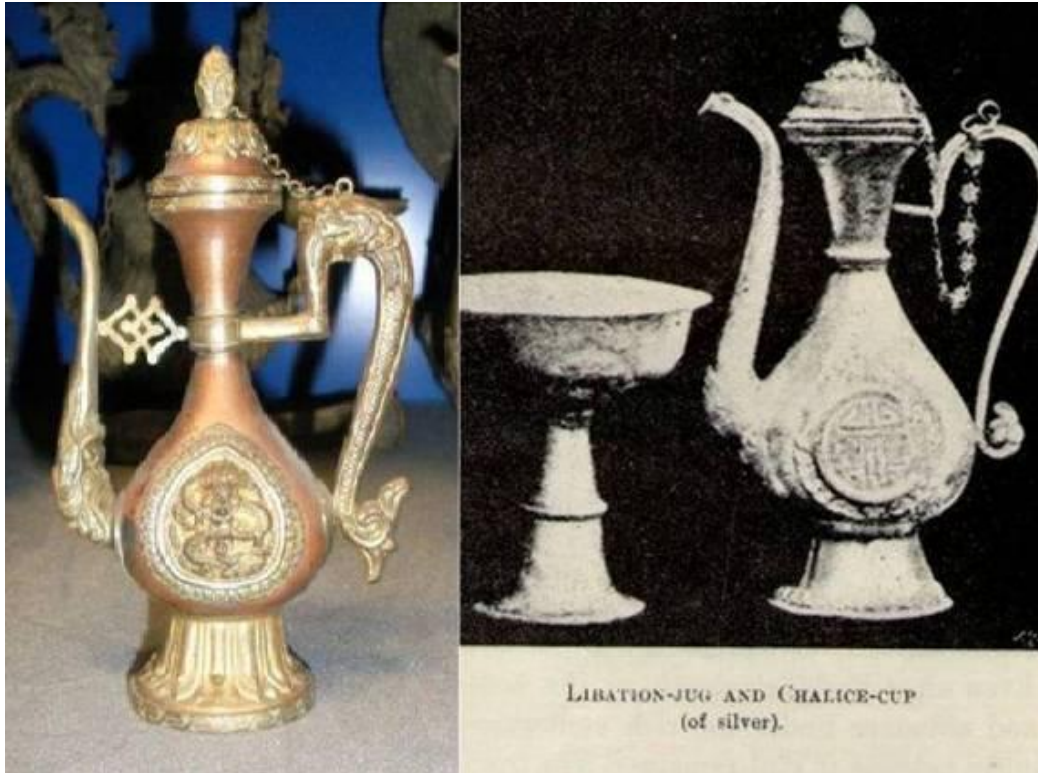


Figure 3.2
Left: Ewer,
Late 19th century
Tibet / Kalimpong
Charles Bell Collection, 1933.05.08.14
Courtesy of The British Museum

Right: Ewer,
19th century
Tibet
L A Waddell collection

Kalimpong would make it difficult for a would-be Tibetologist to buy objects that he could learn from, that he could trust as sources. His access to information was also limited at this early stage and it is not until Bell met Achuk Tsering and Palhese in 1903 that he began to recognise Tibet's rich history, the beauty of the country's aesthetics and the refined and elegant culture found in aristocratic Tibetan homes. Something that Waddell refused to see. From this early collecting site Bell would move on, for once he was established in the Tibetan frontier he chose to collect the majority of his objects from recognised sources. This was a site where objects had provenance and where the current owner could provide Bell with contextual information and on occasion an art historical appraisal of his newly acquired 'curio'.

Lhasa: Myth Making through Gifts of Diplomacy⁴⁸

I do not wish to give you a great number of things which would be useless to you, but rather to give you a few things that are really good - Dalai Lama⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The collecting site for this section is defined as 'Lhasa'. Here, I define the collecting world of Lhasa as one that encompasses the highest echelons of Tibetan lay and monastic society and the gift exchange principles closely tied to the cementing and negotiating of alliances that forms a large part of Chapter 4. Therefore it is the gifting and collecting ideologies of Lhasa and its aristocratic society that define this section.

⁴⁹ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 380.

Bell's formative period in Kalimpong from 1901-03 guaranteed he was noticed in Darjeeling and Kalimpong circles. He became a person of interest for the rulers of Sikkim, Bhutan and increasingly so for the Panchen Lama who the British, prior to 1910, had courted as a potential independent temporal ruler of southern Tibet. His growing expertise led to more prestigious opportunities, including covering the post of Political Officer Sikkim in 1904, the Assistant Political Officer in the Chumbi Valley in 1904-05. When White took a further leave of absence in 1906-07 it was Bell who again stepped in as his replacement. Bell's rising political stock was mirrored in the types of objects he collected and the context within which they were acquired, as he was increasingly sent or exchanged gifts with the Tibetan aristocracy. Bell was now operating within a highly politicized environment and it is no coincidence that Bell's emerging diplomatic status coincided with his receiving of substantial numbers of gifts. A great many more than he decided to keep.

There is a description in Pearce's *On Collecting* that resonates very deeply with this particular material space that Bell collected in. In classifying collectors from the European tradition of collecting she points out that; 'the individual creates a romantic life-history by selecting and arranging personal memorial material to create what,...might be called an object autobiography, ...the objects are allowed to create the self'.⁵⁰ This is particularly pertinent for us here. Bell begins to turn away from the bazaar 'curio' dealers for his purchases, relying more and more on the buying back of gifted objects connected to the major events he participated in during the Anglo-Tibetan encounter. These defining events, which included the Punakha Treaty signing of 1910, the Dalai Lama's exile in British India 1910-12, the Simla conference of 1913-14 and the Lhasa Mission of 1920-21 repeatedly feature in the accounts Bell left us of his Himalayan life. So, it is perhaps surprising to learn that of the 460 objects now identified as belonging to Bell only seventy objects entered his collection as a result of these four specific encounters.

There is one gift that I wish to linger on here as it helps us to appreciate how Bell understood these defining objects, especially as it is one of the few instances when we hear how Bell thought through the objects he held onto. The gift in question is a medal that was given to Bell by the Dalai Lama on the 19th February 1912, just before he left Darjeeling for Kalimpong (figure 3.3).⁵¹ Bell tells us; 'I accepted the medal as a souvenir of his [Dalai Lama's] visit, as it would have been rude to refuse it. I am treating it as a present to the Government Toshakhana,

⁵⁰ Pearce, *On Collecting*, 32.

⁵¹ List of Curios No. 88. Current location unknown, stolen from the Bell family home.



FIGURE 3.3
Gold Medal presented to Bell by the Dalai Lama
1912
Lhasa, Tibet

but request that I may be allowed to buy it in as a personal memento'.⁵² 'Souvenir', 'memento' these are identifying terms that take us immediately back to *On Longing*. Here Bell clearly states that he regarded this gold medal as a memory maker, he did not, as the Dalai Lama intended, view it as a 'token of gratitude', or as a badge of honour.⁵³ Instead, Bell tells us that the usefulness of this object was tied up in its ability to act as an aide memoir, a signifier not just for the moment when it was awarded, but a signifier for the entirety of the Dalai Lama's exile. The Dalai Lama had not suggested that Bell should remember him through this medal, but this was how Bell chose to imagine this object. If we do now turn to Stewart we see just how closely Bell's own interpretation marries with her's.

while the personal memento is of little material worth, ... it is of great worth to its possessor. Because of its connection to biography and its place in constituting the notion of the individual life, the memento becomes emblematic of the worth of that life and of the self's capacity to generate worthiness⁵⁴

During the nearly two and a half years of the Dalai Lama's exile, Bell and the Lama had spent periods in close proximity and Bell cultivated an image of this relationship couched in terms of

⁵² See NAI Internal August 1912. Nos.207-209 Part B. It should be noted that Laden La and Macdonald were also presented with identical medals at that time.

⁵³ *Ibid.* The Dalai Lama defines the medal as such in an accompanying letter in this file given to Laden La that was to be submitted to the British Indian government.

⁵⁴ Stewart, *On Longing*, 139.

friendship between two men. Bell was to emerge from this period as British India's Tibetan expert, brushing aside men like Younghusband and Waddell, and this position was one that he continued to view himself as holding even after his retirement. This medal then was one of a number of signs of all that he had become in those few months and most importantly it was a sign of how he wished to construct his Himalayan self.

But let us not rush ahead. Before the Dalai Lama became the prominent Tibetan figure in Bell's narrative, Bell's first major diplomatic encounter would actually come in Shigatse during his mission there in October 1906. It was here at Tashi Lhunpo monastery that he began to supplement his collection with gifted objects of diplomacy. Bell had been approached by the ninth Panchen Lama through the Lama's Chamberlain or *Dronyer Chenmo* asking Bell to visit him. Bell's published account makes the visit sound as if it was a friendly, almost serene affair.

Apart from formal interviews we had two conversations of three hours each in a pavilion on a sheet of water set well apart from other buildings. The conversations were, of course, in Tibetan; no interpreter was present, and he opened his mind to me. He wanted to be independent of Lhasa and to deal with the British Government as an independent State.⁵⁵

Although if we focus on the last, altogether more telling, sentence we see the particular circumstances under which the Panchen Lama had asked for the face to face talks; 'for he did not want to speak on matters "through a third party"'.⁵⁶ This despite his comments would be a tense mission for Bell and one that would test his political aplomb to the limits at a relatively early stage in his career. Bell's mission came in the aftermath of the Panchen Lama's ceremonial visit to Calcutta, which spanned the New Year period of 1905-06, a visit which can now be considered a low point in British-Shigatse diplomatic relations. This was an ill-considered venture initiated during the Younghusband expedition by Younghusband and O'Connor. In courting the Panchen Lama in this way it was hoped that a Pro-British powerbase could be established in Shigatse that could challenge the authority of the absent Dalai Lama in Lhasa. Pre-empting any attempt by the Chinese to reassert itself in central Tibet, while a power vacuum existed. The Panchen Lama, having reluctantly agreed to leave Shigatse for an audience with the Prince of Wales (later George V), hoped he could trade his visit for armed British protection against any retaliation by the Dalai Lama or the Chinese authorities.

But with a change in British government and the appointment of a new Viceroy in the time it took the Panchen Lama to reach Calcutta any promise of armed support that he thought he had secured was duly swept aside. It then fell to Bell in November 1906 to inform the Lama

⁵⁵ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 145.

⁵⁶Cited in Mehra, *Tibetan Polity, 1904-37* 31, papers in, PRO, FO 535/8 Foreign Office: Confidential Print Tibet and Mongolia. Bell

of the new party line and that this diplomatic relationship would operate, ‘within the narrowest possible limits’.⁵⁷ On his arrival at Tashi Lhunpo the Panchen Lama; ‘read out to Bell, “a garbled version of promises of arms and protection”, which he alleged, the Viceroy had made to him. Bell repudiated this by reading out the “correct account” of the Calcutta interview’.⁵⁸ Despite this frosty atmosphere the obligatory gifts were exchanged and it is in this exchange of gifts that we see a new phase in Bell’s collecting appear. While we only have a partial record of the gifts Bell received on behalf of the British India government, which we owe to their inclusion in *List of Curios*, we can see that Bell chose to buy back several objects meant for government. These included, a fourteenth century book cover,⁵⁹ a silver prayer wheel,⁶⁰ and an impressive Chinese carved red lacquer bowl with lid, which the Panchen Lama described as originally being a, ‘present from the Emperor of China’ (figure 3.4).⁶¹ In addition:

On the 6th November 1906 I paid my farewell call on the Tashi [Panchen] Lama, and at his request went round to see him privately afterwards. He gave me a photograph of himself, coloured by a Tibetan artist. At its foot he wrote his name and titles in golden letters and affixed his seal. As a rule he makes one of his officers write his signature, for he considers his own handwriting to be inferior. A neat handwriting is ranked as a matter of the highest importance in Tibet⁶²

The official gifts we see here mirror the larger gift exchanges we will be party to in Chapter 4, with prestige items relating to religion, sitting alongside the gifting of an object with a lineage that stretches back to the early Qing dynasty. What is interesting here is that the Panchen Lama differentiated between the gifts he gave for official purposes and the significantly more intimate gift of the signed photograph that was intended specifically for Bell. The use of photographs to cement personal bonds is a recurring theme in the relationship between Bell and the Dalai Lama,⁶³ but we see here that the practice actually begins in the politically charged environment of Shigatse in 1906. The official relationship may well have been stretched to breaking point, but in the more personal spaces these diplomatic encounters allowed for, there was still the potential for individuals to maintain material contact and to keep communication channels open.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ IOR/L/PS/10/148, Pt 3

⁵⁸ Cited in Mehra, *Tibetan Polity, 1904-37* 44n, papers in, PRO, FO 535/8 Foreign Office: Confidential Print Tibet and Mongolia. Bell.

⁵⁹ *List of Curios* No. 114, now NML 50.31.126, see <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.126&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=13> We will return to the book covers at the end of this chapter.

⁶⁰ *List of Curios* No. 126, now BM 1946.1217.4

⁶¹ *List of Curios* No. A29, now NML 50.31.77, see <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.77&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=2>

⁶² Frontispiece to Bell’s book *The Religion of Tibet*. *List of Curios* No. 291, location unknown.

⁶³ See Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, frontispiece, 111 and 335, for example.

⁶⁴ The Panchen Lama continued to send Bell gifts throughout his career and well into retirement, of particular note is a *tse pa ma* statue sent to Bell on the 6th March 1912 (*List of Curios* No. 152, now NML 50.31.55, see



FIGURE 3.4
Red Lacquer Lidded Bowl
Late 18th century
Suzhou, Jiangsu, China
Charles Bell Collection NML 50.31.77
Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool

This highlighted exchange offers us an insight into how Bell's 'gifted' objects operated on several nuanced levels, where the intentions and circumstance surrounding any given object could fluctuate between gift of friendship and gift of diplomatic necessity or persuasion. The 'gifts' of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government operated in an equally nebulous space, but it seems that the aura and romance of the Bell-Dalai Lama relationship has clouded the precise diplomatic landscape in which these gifts were given. Thomas advocates the reading of such exchanges within a wider historical framework. 'If actions and events are to be understood politically, they need to be situated historically: many of the factors which make a particular exchange relation distinctive are not visible in its enactment but must be traced through the

<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.55&coll=1&page=3&theItemId=7> The timing of this is particularly interesting for in early 1912 the Panchen Lama was imploring the British to recognise his independence as it became clear that the Dalai Lama would soon return to Tibet, Mehra, *ibid.*, 48. As an aside there is an identical statue in the Ekai Kawaguchi collection see, Tanaka, *Shokai Kawaguchi Ekai Korekushon*, 37. The Lama continued to encourage diplomatic ties despite the odds being stacked against him. Bell had wanted to visit the Panchen Lama in 1915, but his request was denied, see, NAI, FD, External September 1915 Nos. 101-102 Part B and as Bell prepared for his trip to Lhasa in the autumn of 1920, the Panchen Lama sent Bell a Chinese bronze flower vase on the 9th September 1920, present location unknown, to remind him of his presence.

longer-term dynamics of the social situation'.⁶⁵ So, with this in mind we will revisit Hillside in Darjeeling, and Shakyamuni Buddha to take another look at an iconic gift and the circumstances surrounding its arrival into Bell's collection.

The Darjeeling Buddha

When the Dalai Lama gave Bell the gift of a small figure of Shakyamuni Buddha (figure 1.6),⁶⁶ the Buddha entered a new phase in its biography. The Dalai Lama, and much later the Barmiock Lama, would pass on their own material and historical readings to Bell, but when the Buddha passed to its new owner further multiple, personal agendas would be wrapped around it. 'Among the presents which the Dalai Lama gave me, I valued none so highly as two sculpted images of Buddha. Rarely, if ever, has any European received such an image of Buddha from the Dalai Lama himself'.⁶⁷ Moore like Bell also reads this gift of Shakyamuni Buddha as; 'a tangible embodiment of the relationship between himself and the Dalai Lama, and that it was important to him both as a symbol of personal affection and of the esteem in which he was held on a professional level'.⁶⁸ Despite there being over half a century between the original romanticised narrative of Bell and the later reading of the gift through the lens of colonial collecting, both Bell and Moore narrate this figure in comparable ways: as a signifier of friendship and as a mark of great esteem for Bell. If we take 'Thomas' advice and think about how this object fits into the wider political situation that Bell and the Dalai Lama found themselves in during the formative days of their relationship I would like to put forward a very different reading of this gift and its significance.

Bell legitimizes this gift by giving us a great deal of detail courtesy of the Dalai Lama himself.⁶⁹ In, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* we hear of the perceived great antiquity of the image, its composition and we also learn how to wrap and present a return gift of our own (see also Chapter 1), but despite all this something is missing. The circumstances imagined for us here by Bell both in his book and in the *List of Curios* entry suggest an intimate, privileged study session on the figure for Bell, his tutor being none other than the Dalai Lama himself. Yet, if we look elsewhere we find a very different context for the gift. If we turn to the pages of Bell's diary entry in, *Diary Volume IV* and his personal notebook, *Tibet Note Book I*, we realize that in, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* we are not given the complete picture.

⁶⁵ Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 9.

⁶⁶ *List of Curios* No. 68. Now in Private Collection

⁶⁷ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 125.

⁶⁸ Moore, *ibid.*, 89.

⁶⁹ Bell, *ibid.*, 110-111.

During his visit to Hastings House in March 1910, the Dalai Lama had made a direct request to the Viceroy to support the Tibetan's right to rule their country. The Dalai Lama, exiled in Darjeeling, had since been waiting anxiously for a reply from London as to what the future would hold for the relationship between British India and Tibet. Bell had also been pushing for an answer and two weeks prior to the gift exchange, on the recommendations put forward by Bell, the British Indian government had made a proposal to the British government. '[T]ake steps to limit Chinese troops in Tibet, and [EM: agree/support?] the maintenance of a real Tibetan government'.⁷⁰ But when the British government made its final decision it was not good news. They had refused to intervene, issuing instead a watered down statement that the Chinese should not interfere in Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, internationally recognized zones of interest for the British.

Further to this, the British government, detached by several thousand miles from the impact their decision was having, issued a further statement.

that the D.[alai] L.[ama] sh[oul]d be informed that the British Govt. w[oul]d not interfere between China + Tibet, + that they could recognise only the de facto Govt. i.e that set up by China in Tibet in place of the Tibetan Govt. They thus in effect abandoned the status quo ... and in general abandoned the Tibetans to Chinese oppression.⁷¹

It would be the unfortunate Bell who would have to tell the Dalai Lama of this decision. On the 23rd May 1910, Bell did not go to the Dalai Lama for a private lesson on the connoisseurship of Tibetan statuary, but instead to break this particular piece of unpalatable news.

Bell and Laden La went together to Hillside. Laden La had in his hand a letter detailing the decision that he himself had translated into Tibetan. Firstly, the two men received their regular intelligence update from the Tibetan Lönchens on the situation in Tibet, after which they were ushered into the Dalai Lama's room. Bell remembered that; 'The D.[alai] L.[ama] was all smiles when I came into his room, but his face fell when I told him the decision'.⁷² In his private notebook Bell offers us a more emotional account of the news. '[H]e was greatly distressed. For a minute or two he could not speak, but then said that he w[oul]d send me a reply within two or three days'.⁷³ Bell and the Dalai Lama were left in the room and the Lama again reiterated the Chinese activity in Tibet, then as Bell was about to leave; 'the Lama presented me with one of his ancient images, said to have been brought from India'.⁷⁴ This was the Shakyamuni Buddha. Bell recorded that their relationship cooled significantly for a short period and it was not until the 4th

⁷⁰ Bell, "Tibet Note Book I," 232.

⁷¹ Bell, *ibid.*, 232-233.

⁷² Bell, "Diary Volume IV," unpaginated.

⁷³ Bell, "Tibet Note Book I," 233. Bell also added in, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, 114, 'That deprecating look in his eyes became for an instant the look of a man who is being hunted to his doom'.

⁷⁴ Bell, "Diary Volume IV," unpaginated.

June 1910 that the Dalai Lama told Bell what significance his gift held. This he did inbetween discussions on the continuing fighting in Lhasa and how he would like Tibet to come under British protection.⁷⁵

This Shakyamuni Buddha and its role in narrating a story of extraordinary friendship is a wonderfully convincing construct. In publication Bell brushed aside all the diaries and notebooks he has written to fashion a wholly positive episode in his Himalayan life. One in which he befriends a great Lama from whom he subsequently received many personal gifts in friendship. Bal would say that; “This is the moment when a self conscious narrator begins to ‘tell’ its story, bringing about a semiotics for a narrative of identity, history, and situation. Hence, one can also look at it from the perspective of the collector as agent in this narrative’.”⁷⁶ Bell’s agency is obvious here. He omits the highly politicized context of this exchange and the intentions of the Dalai Lama in giving the Shakyamuni Buddha. The Lama likely expecting better news on Bell’s arrival had selected a gift from his private possessions, an object significant enough to have been brought into exile, to show his appreciation. The Dalai Lama had hoped for something close to an equal exchange, but Bell’s ‘gift’ of this British government edict was woefully lacking.

This, we have to say, is not a straightforward gift by any means. We now know that the Buddha’s narrative was much more contentious than Bell was willing or able to reveal. Instead, he provides us with a narrative of personal triumph and cultural firsts, which furnish him with prestige and unique characteristics. This, most powerful of Buddhist objects, Shakyamuni Buddha, with its associations to the Dalai Lama, and its further markers of great age and special origin made this a perfect symbol of a Himalayan life. Bell had romanticized this statue by isolating it from the tense political atmosphere it was given in. Yet he left behind enough evidence to place this and many other objects from his collection back into the wider diplomatic world from which they came.

The Dance Costume

The gifts of the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama were by no means isolated incidences and gifts like these would continue to be brought into Bell’s collection throughout his career. Some like the Panchen Lama’s photograph and Shakyamuni Buddha would be meant for Bell himself, but there were others intended for far bigger stages than the intimate ones Bell constructed for us. In the summer of 1913, as Bell undertook his annual inspection tour, the Simla conference

⁷⁵ There were periodic strains on their relationship, again on the 24th May 1912 Bell’s diary entry records, ‘Called on D.[alai] L.[ama] today. At first he was a little constrained + a shade less friendly, probably on account of the Govt. Letter to him, telling him to stop the fighting in Tibet + save the lives of the Chinese’. Bell, “Diary Volume V,” unpaginated.

⁷⁶ Bal, “Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting,” 101.



FIGURE 3.5
 Robe from the Black Hat Dancers Costume
 Charles Bell Collection, 50 31. 94
 Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool

was very much on the horizon. During that summer a gift exchange would take place between Shatra and Bell that while more modest than the grand diplomatic events and gift exchanges we will witness in Chapter 4 had in its own way a significance that would rebound against the international conference it preempted. This satellite exchange which took place prior to the main event formed part of the political jockeying for position and backroom negotiating that was well underway by the time summer arrived in Gyantse in 1913 and much of it involved Bell and Shatra.

As Bell rode into Gyantse, he would have sensed that this annual tour would be anything but routine. He had already made a note in his records that the British government had sent invitations to both the Chinese and Tibetan governments to attend a tripartite conference on the future governance of Tibet.⁷⁷ This was a critical moment both for the Anglo-Tibetan relationship and for the Tibetans who realized that the stage was now set for their demands for self-rule to be recognised. By June the Dalai Lama was sending verbal messages through Palhese to Bell in

⁷⁷ Bell notes the invitations as being dispatched in May. Lamb records the invitations going out on 5th June (1966: 470), see PRO, FO 535/16, No. 294, Hardinge to Dalai Lama, 5 June 1913.

order to smooth over any remaining uncertainties on the subject of potential Russian involvement in Tibet and the Lama additionally urged Bell to stay in his post and not to take extended leave or early retirement.⁷⁸

The Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government had been able to observe Bell, his actions and his integrity at close quarters in Darjeeling and Kalimpong and they had now chosen him as their British advocate. In this charged arena Bell had barely had time to dismount his horse before meetings began with Shatra on Tibet's proposed plan of attack. Most significantly on the 7th July Shatra sat down with Bell to share with him a non-negotiable list of conditions that Tibet expected to be agreed at the conference. These included Tibet's internal governance of its own country, control over external governance, but with British assistance and no Chinese Amban to reside in Tibet. Most contentiously Shatra insisted that the setting of Tibet's borders would include Nyarong, Derge, Batang, Litang and the country up to Tachienlu, all areas that were strongly contested by the Chinese.⁷⁹ Bell made no comment in his notebook as to whether or not he agreed with these conditions, but the following day on the 8th July, the Dalai Lama wrote to Viceroy Hardinge, requesting that Bell be made British plenipotentiary for the Simla conference.⁸⁰ During the following month, Bell requested a copy of the British opening position on the Simla conference and shared this with Shatra. The two were meeting regularly and were obviously trying to establish the Tibetan position and how Britain might support it in advance of the conference.

There is no mention of a gift exchange in Bell's diary or notebook, but recorded in *List of Curios*, listed as No. 263 and No. 264 we find that Bell did receive two gifts on the 28th July from Shatra on behalf of the Tibetan government sent directly from one of the Potala treasuries. The first gift (No. 263) was a set of delicate white jade bowls,⁸¹ while the second (No. 264) was an extremely impressive dance costume used by the black hat dancers (figure 3.5).⁸² In terms of a gifting context Bell in *List of Curios* notes nothing more than; 'This dress and hat came from the Potala and were presented to me by the Tibetan Government (Per Shatra Lönchen on 28th July 1913)'. Coming from one of the Potala treasuries this would have been a costume worn by the monks of the *Namgye Tratsang*, the Dalai Lama's personal monastic college within the Potala, who

⁷⁸ Bell, "Tibet Note Book II," 7.

⁷⁹ Bell, "Tibet Note Book II," 8. Lamb notes that these conditions submitted to Hardinge on the 27th July would have been seen to be unrealistic by the British India and Chinese government and were, 'certainly bound to fail to produce any useful agreement.' Lamb, *The McMahon Line*, 475.

⁸⁰ It would in fact be Sir Henry McMahon who would be British plenipotentiary, Bell would be his assistant at Simla.

⁸¹ Current location unknown

⁸² Robe now NML 50.31.94, collar now NML 50.31.95, apron now 50.31.88, hat now BM 1933.0508,57.

were expert practitioners of the ritual dances that this costume was worn for.⁸³ It would also needless to say have been of the highest quality.⁸⁴ We can say then that this gift acted as something akin to a barometer for the close relationship that was developing between Bell and Shatra, the two leading advocates of the Tibet position at that moment in time and it was an indication that the discussions taking place were, from the Tibetan perspective, going well.⁸⁵ But this was a gift not necessarily meant for Bell himself, but as a prompt to the British Indian government for support. Objects gifted via Bell had not in that moment necessarily reached their final destination and we see this again, two years later when Bell is again in Gyantse and on the receiving end of further diplomatic demands from Shatra.

The Pen Case and the Soup Jar

Tibetan independence was not the only thing that occupied the mind of the Lhasa government, for there was another subject that demanded almost as much attention in the British India files. Guns were a constant concern for Shatra and the Lhasa government. In 1915 for example, with a still to be signed Simla Convention and far more pressing issues in Europe for the British government, Tibet felt its vulnerable status acutely. Despite the British India government agreeing to sell 5,000 rifles and half a million rounds of ammunition to Tibet following the conclusion of the Simla conference in 1914 (see Chapter 4), this would realistically never hold off a major Chinese attack.⁸⁶ The Chinese, realizing that Britain's resources were tied to the Great War that was beginning to unfold across Europe, pushed for Tibet to begin bilateral talks. Despite, Britain's preoccupations Shatra was determined to have his case heard and fortunately for him Bell was again within reach. He was yet again part way through his annual tour of southern Tibet, in the Gyantse area and as he prepared to leave Drongtse on the 17th September after staying with the Phalha family, Bell received a letter from Shatra, who did not want there to be any ambiguities over the concerns of the Lhasa government.

The Chinese are making every effort to conciliate the Tibetan Chiefs and soliders in Kham, and the ignorant people are being deceived into thinking that, as the Treaty could not be concluded in India, the Tibetan Government might as well conclude it with the Chinese direct...the British Government who have rendered them [Tibetans] much help, have so far

⁸³ See Richardson, *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year*, 116-123 for a full description of the performances he saw in the Potala, while stationed in Lhasa.

⁸⁴ Bell recorded on the 4th August in his 1921 diary, when watching the Dalai Lama sponsored Tibetan opera performances that, 'It should be noted that all the dresses are supplied by the Govt. + that there are two or three sets of these, each troupe of actors donning one or other of the sets. As soon as one troupe goes off the stage, another comes on dressed in one of the other sets. These dresses are far finer and more elaborate than those which are owned by the actors themselves'. Bell, "Diary Volume 11," unpaginated.

⁸⁵ See Lamb, *The McMahon Line*, 469-476, for an account from official records of the behind the scenes posturing taking place prior to the Simla conference.

⁸⁶ Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet*, 77.

refused to listen to any overture on the part of the Chinese. It is doubtful, however, how things will end...Kindly help us in whatever way it may be possible after your discussions with the Shapé⁸⁷

The Shapé (lay council member) in question was none other than Tsarong Shapé (later Dzasa) the Dalai Lama's trusted favourite. He had first met Bell as a young man in Darjeeling in 1910 and the two had come to know each other well enough in those years of exile for Tsarong to present Bell with a framed photograph of the Dalai Lama, which Tsarong had personally inscribed with a dedication to Bell.⁸⁸ Shatra was now pathing the way for Tsarong to begin face to face negotiations with Bell in the hope that this personal contact between two acquaintances would reignite British India's support for Tibet.

Bell's diaries record the exchange of visits made by Bell and Cashie with Tsarong and his wife in Gyantse between the 28th and the 29th September and then again on the 3rd October. Despite Bell listing a number of topics they discussed there is no mention of the real business that took place over tea, nor of the gifts given to emphasize the importance Shatra, Tsarong and the wider Lhasa government placed on Bell's abilities to persuade the British India government. Tsarong had come with just three requests, but at this point in Anglo-Tibetan relations these would have seemed almost insurmountable. Firstly, Tsarong asked Bell to persuade the British India government to begin new talks on the Simla Treaty and encourage China to agree to the original terms. Tsarong was a realist and knowing this would be difficult he added a caveat: at the very least he hoped the Chinese troops could be persuaded to withdraw from the Tibetan borderlands, thus allowing the Tibetans to do the same. The Tibetan army, now in a constant state of combat readiness also needed financing and Tsarong's second request was for a rise in taxes. Bell would need to convince the British India government that increased import duty on Tibet's major exports - wool, yak hair, and yak tails - would strengthen British India's northern buffer zone. This was preferable to internal conflict in Tibet between the Tibetan government and its lay and monastic landlords who would otherwise need to fund the army through increased taxes.⁸⁹ Finally there was the question of guns. If there was to be a credible Tibetan army on its eastern borders it needed weaponry. Tsarong asked Bell for a supply of mountain guns and machine guns and for British-trained mechanics to teach Tibetans how to make safe

⁸⁷ IOR L/PS/10/344, letter to Bell from Shatra, 17th September 1915, cited in Goldstein, *ibid*.

⁸⁸ *List of Curios*, unlisted now NML 50.31.131. See, <http://liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.131&coll=1&per=63577&page=1>

⁸⁹ Increased taxation would be the eventual reason for the ninth Panchen Lama fleeing into exile and to China in 1924.

and reliable ammunition. There was also the additional small matter of communications and in conclusion Tsarong asked for an extension to the telegraph line between Lhasa and Gyantse.⁹⁰

To emphasize the urgency of his request Tsarong had not come empty handed and we learn from *List of Curios* that Tsarong presented to Bell, on behalf of the Tibetan government, Nos. 273 and 274.⁹¹ Both the soup jar (figure 3.6) and the pen case were of the finest quality and can be considered two of the most aesthetically important pieces in Bell's collection. An iron soup jar of this quality with its fine damascene work in silver with overlaid gilt would have been passed down through generations of Tibetan owners. Made originally in Derge, Valrae Reynolds described an almost identical *tsampa* (roasted barley flour) container in the Newark collection (accession number, 1988 88.698) as belonging artistically to a group of objects that date from; 'the Mongol period, thirteenth century, and it is possible that this jug dates from that time of Mongol-Tibetan interaction'.⁹² Without Reynold's curatorial training, Palhese, eighty years earlier, agreed, as Bell records in *List of Curios* that; 'Palhese estimates its [the soup jar's] age at 500 to 600 years. Probably made in or near Derge'. Not quite as old, but of just as fine quality is the gilded iron pen case, again made in Derge and decorated with delicate pierced scrollwork and dragons, typical of the work found on personal objects and saddlery provenanced to this eastern Tibetan area, renowned for its metalwork. Dated by Palhese to the seventeenth century, it has recently been reassessed by Michael Willis, of the British Museum and dated to the fifteenth century.⁹³ These were extraordinary pieces, but there is no getting away from the fact that they accompanied difficult requests.

The quality of these gifts suggests that perhaps Tsarong and Shatra felt there was some persuading to be done. This persuading was not necessarily directed at Bell himself, but with the men beyond Bell in the Foreign Department of the British India government. If this was the case, as I suspect it was, the quality of the gifts chosen was wholly justified, especially as the British India government was not nearly as sympathetic to the Tibetan cause as their 'man on the spot'. The requests that these gifts were wrapped in seem certainly to have been discussed by Bell and Shatra in Simla and Delhi during the Simla conference two year's earlier. Just a month before Shatra contacted his British confidant with these specific requests, Bell had already written a lengthy and somewhat critical memorandum to the Foreign Office Secretary of State

⁹⁰ Goldstein, *ibid.*, 78.

⁹¹ *List of Curios* No. 273, now NML 50.31.12, see, <http://liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.12&coll=1&per=63577&page=1> and *List of Curios* No. 274, now BM 1933.0508,34.

⁹² Reynolds, et al. *From the Sacred Realm*, 116-117.

⁹³ See, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=248517&partId=1&searchText=charles+alfred+bell&page=1



FIGURE 3.6
Soup Jar
13th century
Derge, Tibet
Charles Bell Collection, 50.31.12
Courtesy of National Museums
Liverpool

reminding him of British India's responsibilities to the Tibetans. In this letter he asked not only for the approval of new taxes for Tibetan imports, but also for approval; 'to procure a few machine guns and mountain guns...It is difficult to understand why we should prevent Tibet, for whom we are at present working, from buying a few'.⁹⁴ The equally curt reply refused to countenance either a tax increase or the sale of any kind of guns due to war shortages. In fact; 'The present view of the Government of India is that we must mark time and await developments in Tibet'.⁹⁵

Bell must have hoped to arrive in southern Tibet with a crumb of comfort for the Tibetans, knowing talks with them on taxes and arms would be high on the agenda. Yet, despite the pleas from his old Tibetan colleagues Bell had nothing to offer them when Tsarong's personal requests came. In frustration Bell wrote again to government after his meetings with Tsarong, stressing that; 'The Tibetan Government are at their wit's end to find the revenue necessary for paying their troops and administering their country...It is imperative that they

⁹⁴ IOR L/PS/10/344, letter No. 167EC, from Bell to India, dated 6th August 1915. Also cited in Goldstein, *ibid.*, 79.

⁹⁵ IOR L/PS/10/344, letter No. 448EB, from India via Foreign Department to Bell, dated 3rd September 1915. Also cited in Goldstein, *ibid.*, 81.

should raise funds immediately'.⁹⁶ But it was not until a further anxious letter from Tsarong arrived on the 8th November that concessions were finally made. The British India government agreed to the taxations, but they refused to move on the sale of arms and ammunitions.

The prestigious gifts given by Tsarong were unable to persuade the British India government. The gifts in reality had little hope of smoothing the path for further arm deals, for the British in India as we shall see in Chapter 4 had looked to remove any possibility that gifted objects could engage in specific persuading. These gifts of great value, yet again failed to reach their intended target - the government offices of the Foreign Department - but instead found themselves deposited in the Gyantse *tosha khana* thousands of miles from the decision making centres of British India.⁹⁷ Why did they find themselves so far away from the individuals and institutions they hoped to persuade? Well, Bell had decided that he wanted to buy them back, further solidifying his persona as a friend of aristocratic Tibetans and the Tibetan government. Bell tried to strip away the complex and uneasy Anglo-Tibetan relationship that defined the final years of his tenure by cataloguing the soup jar and pen case as simply a gift from the Tibetan government, presented to him by Tsarong. However, the diaries and memorandums suggest that these objects were diverted into Bell's collection of 'curios' and away from those they were meant for. What was at stake here was of far greater consequence than just the renewing of an acquaintance between a British man and his Tibetan counterpart, these were gifts that instead should have played a part in questions that pertained to Tibetan independence.

Gyantse: Appreciating Aristocratic Taste

Bell's collection is however not all about gifts and even defining Bell's collected 'curios' as a Tibetan collection is in itself something of a misnomer. This is particularly evident when we see that more than twenty percent (that is, ninety-six) of the objects we now know belonged to Bell had their origins in China. This, if we recall the seventy objects given as gifts is a far greater proportion of the collection than that belonging to the defining narratives discussed in the

⁹⁶ IOR L/PS/10/344, letter No. 291EC, from Bell to India, dated 28th October 1915. Also cited in Goldstein, *ibid.*, 82.

⁹⁷ The soup jar appears on the Gyantse *tosha khana* inventory submitted by Campbell on the 12th September 1916. Recorded as arriving into the *tosha khana* on the 28th September 1915 (the date of the first of Bell's and Tsarong's meetings) are: two rolls of woollen cloth (valued at Rs.6), four porcelain cups (valued at Rs. 2), one iron pot inlaid with silver (valued at just Rs. 10), one silk belt with jade clasp (valued at Rs. 20), one Chinese jade sceptre (valued at Rs. 30), the pen case however is missing from this list. Interestingly, Campbell notes that, "These [pieces] marked "B" are being disposed of locally and the prices credited to Government", see NAI, FD, General, September 1917, Nos.47-59. Part B. The iron soup jar was marked with a 'B'. It seems then that local junior officers assisted their seniors in securing the items they wanted by declaring them too insignificant in value to travel to Simla. Bell was obviously the man who bought the jar when it was disposed of locally.

previous section.⁹⁸ This significant number of objects with Chinese beginnings represents a very specific type of collecting that Bell engaged in once he had established himself in Tibetan aristocratic circles. As with the red lacquer bowl we have already seen, several important Chinese pieces, including a group of fine Chinese jades, were gifts from the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama that followed a Tibetan tradition of gifting objects with a Chinese provenance and history to draw attention to the giver's breadth of diplomatic networks and personal prestige. As with the lacquer bowl these Chinese objects never failed to be annotated by their giver with detailed information on provenance. But Chinese objects predominately came to Bell by means other than diplomatic gifting, for there was another very particular way in which these pieces found their way into Bell's collection. These Chinese 'curios' would materialize as a result of the aristocratic networks Palhese operated in, for Palhese not only made it possible for Bell to appear as a participant in aristocratic society, but he would also make the collecting of objects that reflected Tibetan aristocratic taste possible too.

Gyantse and the Phalpa family

Palhese was one of the major contributors to *List of Curios* and as we scan its pages we begin to see why he was so important to the compiling of this document. Palhese is cited as the direct or indirect source for sixty-two objects. While a further much larger group of Bell's 'curios' have a provenance to Gyantse and the immediate area, collected at times when both men were travelling and staying in the region together. With these basic calculations we see that alongside the Dalai Lama and the Sikkim Royal Family, Palhese played a vital role in helping Bell construct the collection he is now credited with.

It is difficult to say with any certainty how early Palhese began sourcing objects for Bell. Surprisingly, Bell does not mention Palhese in his diaries until the 1913 southern Tibet tour. However, from *List of Curios* we can determine that material exchanges between the two men began relatively early in their relationship, with the first object attributed to Palhese being a gift of a statue of Padmasambhava (figure 3.7).⁹⁹ This *List of Curios* entry is not dated, but by cross-referencing the description found there with Bell's *Tibet Random Notes*, we find that Bell showed this figure to both Percy Brown,¹⁰⁰ the Director of the Indian Museum, Calcutta and also the Lönchens while they were in exile in Darjeeling, which gives us a pre-1910 date for its

⁹⁸ A further six items are from Japan.

⁹⁹ *List of Curios* No. 33, now BM 1946.1217,1

¹⁰⁰ Bell notes in "Tibet Random Notes I," 'He [Percy Brown] likes my image of the Red Sect lama, given me by Palhese, a good deal. He considers the drapery to be especially well done'.

FIGURE 3.7
17th Century
Tibet
BM 1946.1217,1
Courtesy of The British Museum



collection.¹⁰¹ Shortly after this statue - listed as Nos. 43-49 - are a group of objects that show us how Palhese's impact on the types of objects Bell collected was to manifest itself and how this approach to collecting differed from the other strategies we have already seen Bell use. This disparate group of objects included an impressive eight-sided red lacquer Chinese lidded bowl,¹⁰² a vessel for a *serkeyem* set,¹⁰³ a Chinese brass incense burner in the shape of a holy man riding a deer,¹⁰⁴ three suits of chain armour, one in poor condition (figure 3.8),¹⁰⁵ and a band of bell's for a pony's neck.¹⁰⁶ Apart from the eight-sided bowl, these objects are not artistically or ethnographically outstanding in their own right; instead their interest lies in their networked status. These were objects that came from blood relatives of Palhese and many were stored or displayed in the Lhasa mansion houses of the extended Phalha family.

¹⁰¹ This statue is listed before both the objects given to Bell by the Panchen Lama in 1906 and the teapot purchased in 1903 at Kalimpong, but it is impossible to say for certain that this statue came to Bell at the very beginning of his relationship with Palhese.

¹⁰² *List of Curios* No. 43 was believed to have been given to Pestalozzi School, Kent, UK by the Bell family in 1963, but having catalogued the material at Pestalozzi in 2011, the lidded bowl was no longer there. The family decided to donate to the school on hearing that Tibetan children studied there.

¹⁰³ *List of Curios* No. 44, current location unknown.

¹⁰⁴ *List of Curios* No. 45, now NML 50.31.43, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.43&mat=12&coll=1&page=1>

¹⁰⁵ *List of Curios* No. 46-47, current location unknown, but Bell noted of the armour, 'There were also trousers of the skin of the musk deer; these I have returned to Palhese for sanitary reasons'. *List of Curios* No. 48, now BM 1933.0508,87-88.

¹⁰⁶ *List of Curios* No. 49, now BM 1933.0508,92.

Despite Palhese's first gift of a Buddhist statue, the objects that Palhese selected for Bell would in the main be secular objects found in aristocratic homes. It would be those aristocratic mansions both in Lhasa and in Gyantse that would feed Bell's developing predilection for those things that signified the Tibetan aristocratic taste for Chinese things. Bell, we must remember, did not reach Lhasa until late 1920 and so when we see the site of collection noted as 'Lhasa', we must assume that Bell either bought his pre-1920 Lhasa pieces from a trader, or in certain cases Palhese selected objects from Lhasa that he thought would enhance Bell's collection. There is no sense that Bell proactively selected objects from the Phalha mansions (the rejection of the soiled deer skin trousers returned to Palhese is a case in point), but what we do see here is Palhese acting as a 'ghost' collector, sourcing, selecting and negotiating on Bell's behalf. He was creating a collection within a collection that would later be subsumed into Bell's *List of Curios*. Both Macdonald and Kawaguchi provide an insight into how this Phalha orientated collecting strategy emerged when they use the almost identical statement. '[E]very Tibetan is a born trader. Even when visiting in a friend's house, should a guest take a fancy to any article, it is not considered bad form to negotiate for its purchase, either at once or next day'.¹⁰⁷ Kawaguchi also adds that it is absolutely acceptable to sell one's belongings in that way, but also observes; 'The whole proceeding is conducted with the shrewdness and vigilant attention to details which characterise regular businessmen'.¹⁰⁸ Bell may well have been a shrewd diplomat, but he was not a businessman and it would have taken the negotiating skills of someone like Palhese, a family member, to not only select the objects for acquisition, but to negotiate and agree the sale of the family's property.¹⁰⁹ But this was only the start of Phalha provenanced objects entering Bell's collection of curios, for there would be three additional collecting moments that took place in 1913, 1915 and finally 1917.

¹⁰⁷ Macdonald, *The Land of the Lama*, 229. Kawaguchi's language is more flowery, but he also asserts that, 'Peers are also traders, mostly by proxy, though some of them refrain from making investments and are content to subsist on the income derived from their hand... Suppose a visitor to a Peer's house takes a fancy to some of the furniture or hall decoration in it. In such a case it is not considered impolite for the visitor to ask the host the price of that particular article'. Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Tibet*, 458.

¹⁰⁸ Kawaguchi, *ibid.*, 458.

¹⁰⁹ We also gain some understanding of how Palhese selected and located the objects he wanted for Bell from the Phalha family inventory system in a much later entry in The *List of Curios* (No. A48). Here, Bell relates the gift of a pair of Kangxi dynasty vases in August 1920. 'Palhese says that these two vases were included among articles that were brought by Tsong-pön Choktar four generations ago, during the time when Tendzin Nam-gyel Shappe was head of the Pal-ha household. Chok-tar was one of the better class servants in the Pal-ha household and was sent to Peking overland to buy in China pearls, jade, porcelain and silks of the best qualities and usually old ones. Such was formerly the practice among the Tibetan nobility. And the articles thus bought, were entered in catalogues, which were preserved in the house. It is in this catalogue that Palhese saw the entry of these two vases as having been brought at that time'. It is hoped that a further study on the inventory systems employed by both the state and the aristocratic family estates can be undertaken following this period of research.



FIGURE 3.8
The two suits of armour, lacking their
soiled trousers
Gangtok Residency
1908-1920
Courtesy of Private Collection

In July 1913, a significant number of objects were entered into *List of Curios* that Bell had paid for, the prices recorded as precisely as the object descriptions. Starting at No.240 and ending at No.255 this group, Bell recorded; ‘were bought from and described by K.[usho] Palhese in July 1913’. Their cataloguing and depositing into the Bell collection coincided with Bell’s annual inspection tour of southern Tibet for 1913 and Bell’s tour of the Phalha mansion near Gyantse, at Drongtse on the 8th July. On this occasion Palhese chose objects, destined for Bell’s collection, from Bangyeshar, the Phalha mansion in Lhasa.¹¹⁰ Bangyeshar had gained a reputation in British circles, for it was not only Palhese’s Lhasa family home, but it had also been visited by Das during his clandestine trip to Lhasa in 1882. Bell would have known something of the family’s wealth and good taste from Das’s description of the house’s lavish drawing room,

...two Chinese chests of drawers, on top of which were a lot of porcelain cups; Chinese pictures - picnics and dancing most of them represented - covered the greater part of the walls; the ceiling was of Chinese satin, and thick rugs of Yarkand and Tibetan make

¹¹⁰ It is likely that the Bangyeshar objects were being stored at the Drongtse mansion in 1913 to protect the family’s portable property from the fighting in Lhasa between Chinese and Tibetan troops in 1910-12, which saw the destruction of Bangyeshar. Before Bell’s arrival into Lhasa in 1920 however, Bangyeshar had been rebuilt and many items and documents returned to the house. See, Martin, “Charles Bell’s Collections of Curios,” 174.

covered the floor. [There were also] Well-polished little tables, wooden bowls for tsamba, and some satin-covered cushions¹¹¹

What is striking in this description is the combination of high quality Chinese objects and Tibetan specific items, such as low tables and *tsampa* bowls that mirrors precisely the objects that Palhese sourced from the house for Bell. In the group selected for Bell we see an iron damascene beer jug,¹¹² an almost perfect partner to the soup jar Bell would collect via Tsarong and another, this time, flat beer jug of equally fine quality.¹¹³ There was also an eighteenth century sword again from Derge,¹¹⁴ and finely painted collapsible tables brought from the house of the ancient Tibetan family, the Lhagyaris.¹¹⁵ These items would not have looked out of place in the finest aristocratic houses in Lhasa. They were examples of some of the most highly regarded objects made by Tibetans and they were a far cry from the objects Bell had acquired during his early days in Darjeeling and Kalimpong.

Alongside these Tibetan pieces Palhese had also selected a group of Chinese objects held in high regard by the Tibetan aristocracy. The political differences between Tibet and China had clearly not affected the two state's material exchanges, no less the Tibetan aristocracy's desire to fill their homes with Chinese objects. The Chinese contingent of this group consisted mainly of Chinese ceramics, cloisonné and jades. These included jade ink slabs used by a man of letters to prepare their brush ink for writing,¹¹⁶ and 'red china' that although not located, its description suggests the terracotta ceramics of Yixing, which were owned by scholars and became highly collectable, both in Asia and Europe.¹¹⁷ Needless to say these were objects collected and owned by a cultured and refined society and they were just the type of objects Bell would need to own and appreciate in order to reflect his own perceived standing in Tibetan society.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Das, *Journal to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, 214.

¹¹² *List of Curios* No. 248, now NML 50.31.11, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.11&coll=1&page=1&themeId=2>

¹¹³ *List of Curios* No. 249, now Private Collection.

¹¹⁴ *List of Curios* No. 240, current location unknown.

¹¹⁵ *List of Curios* No. 254, now NML 50.31.6, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.6&coll=1&page=1&themeId=3> and *List of Curios* No. 255, current location unknown.

¹¹⁶ *List of Curios* No. 244, now NML 50.31.85, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=info&item=50.31.85&coll=1&page=1&themeId=13> and *List of Curios* No. 245, now NML 50.31.83, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.83&coll=1&page=1&themeId=13>

¹¹⁷ *List of Curios* No. 242 and 243, current locations unknown.

¹¹⁸ Lamb notes that Bell received the title of Lönchen or Chief Minister from the Lhasa government (Lamb 1989: 114), but Bell actually manufactured his status himself, 'The title "Great Minister" was in effect no compliment to me; I had arranged it myself. It is important for a country dealing with Tibet that its diplomatic representative should hold a good rank, so I placed myself on an equality with Tibet's Prime Ministers of whom there were then three, but later only one. As we were friends, the Tib[eta]n Govt granted this readily; + it was better for my country, myself, + my successors' (Private Archive).

Alongside these aristocratic covertables, Palhese also seems to have been well aware of Bell's previous collecting interests as he acquired for Bell a small group of objects that had more than a touch of notoriety attached to them. Inventoried next to the teapot Bell bought at the Kalimpong *Mela* in 1903 there is another bazaar buy. In *List of Curios* No. 35, we see Bell buying from a trader (possibly from one at the same *Mela*), another copper teapot with brass bands of decoration known to Tibetans as, 'Dogs' Nose' (*ḳyi-na*).¹¹⁹ This is not however what drew Bell's attention, the information Bell felt noteworthy had nothing to do with aesthetics or terminology. 'Bought from a trader who said he had bought it at the sale of the property of the Tengyeling Monastery and its lamas in Lhasa after the Tengyeling Gyalpo was condemned to imprisonment for attempting to kill the Dalai Lama by witchcraft'. Tengyeling Monastery situated within the sights of the Potala had a very strained relationship with the Dalai Lama and his circle. In 1896 the Demo Rinpoche, the Regent of Tibet and Head of Tengyeling Monastery was implicated and then convicted of the attempted murder of the Dalai Lama; found guilty of planting paper amulets in the soles of the Dalai Lama's boots in order to kill or injure him.¹²⁰ The punishment included amongst other things, the confiscation of Tengyeling's wealth and belongings. As a result, during the 1910-12 Tibet-China battles in Lhasa, Tengyeling offered help to the Chinese troops. This could not be countenanced by the returning Dalai Lama and as a further punishment the monastery was destroyed in 1914 and all its remaining possessions confiscated. Macdonald wrote of the Tengyeling treasures:

I saw of the treasures formerly owned by Tengyeling, and they are priceless. Wonderful examples of Chinese porcelain, gold-work, carved jade and turquoise, and many very finely painted and embroidered religious banners were stored in go-downs sealed by the Devashung [EM: Grand Council]. Many pieces have been stolen by traders, and have found their way to India, but there are still several hundred old Chinese carpets stored there. No Tibetan monastery, as a rule, will sell its property, which finds its way on to the market only when stolen by the lamas.¹²¹

The quality of Tengyeling's belongings was well-known and despite Bell being a 'laudable' collector, he was not beyond temptation when it came to looted property once removed. Palhese, whose family had also been subjected to looting and confiscation, was himself not morally against acquiring looted objects from a monastery that was seen to be on the wrong side of *Gelukpa* law. As a result on the 4th August 1913 we learn that Bell had in his possession at

¹¹⁹ *List of Curios* No. 35, now NML 50.31.97, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.97&mat=12&coll=1&page=2>

¹²⁰ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 61-64.

¹²¹ Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 246.



FIGURE 3.9

Standing left to right: unidentified, Gyalse Kusho, Charles Bell, Doring Kusho, Palhese, two Tibetan Dzongpons (unidentified)

Seated left to right: David Macdonald, Doring Lhacham (Lady), Cashie Bell, Doring Techi (Tenzin Norbhu), Drumpe Dzasa, Phalha Kenchen, Lhase Kusho

Likely, Gabshi Estate, Gyantse, 7th September, 1915

Courtesy of Private Collection

least two *thangka* and an impressive canary yellow glaze porcelain baluster vase.¹²² Although Bell does not cite Palhese as the seller or donor, nor does he mention a price paid for the items, Palhese seems to know these objects well as he describes them in some detail for Bell. For example, the *thangka* are described as:

Tibetan scroll representing Padma Sambhava. Probably 50 or 60 years old. The silk round the picture is of exceptionally good quality. The paint is of the old superior, not of the modern inferior kind. The picture comes from Teng-gye-ling Monastery. It looks new, because it has been hung up once or twice only each year, e.g at the New Year etc.¹²³

Palhese appears to have acquired the information, and we can presume these pieces for Bell, either from a trader operating in southern Tibet or from the remaining supporters of Tengyeling Monastery in Lhasa. These objects were a small but significant addition to Bell's collection and with their precise provenance they gave him a greater understanding of elite monastic aesthetics. But more than this they allowed Bell to handle objects that were associated with an episode of

¹²² I say at least two, as there is a third *thangka* of Padmasambhava, clearly from the same group now at Pestalozzi School and although it is not recorded as coming from the Bell family it is highly likely that it belonged to Bell and came into his collection at the same time as the other two.

¹²³ *List of Curios* No. 265-266, now in Private Collection, *List of Curios* No. 267, now NML 50.31.66, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.32&coll=1&page=1&theItemId=3&expand=62466>

high intrigue in Lhasa that had established the Dalai Lama as the temporal ruler of Tibet. These objects added another dimension to Bell's Tibetan knowledge and although Tibet had not been open to him in order for him to witness the intrigue first-hand, he could relive the event and its implications through the objects. Shelton in his search for a definition of a 'curio' argues that, an alluring object was often; 'associated with singular events or personalities'¹²⁴ and in this context these Tengyeling pieces would be a perfect addition to Bell's own collection of 'curios'.

During Bell's 1915 southern Tibet tour we see a smaller, but more diverse group of objects entering Bell's collection that illustrate the complexity of the Phalha network and the extent to which Palhese widened Bell's opportunities for collecting. From the diaries of this tour, we see that Bell had reached maturity in his role as Political Officer. He was surrounded by his most trusted staff including, Macdonald, Palhese and Achuk Tsering, who all accompanied Bell throughout his tour. He was visited on several occasions by agents of the Panchen Lama who urged him to visit Shigatse before returning to Gangtok and at various stages he was sent generous gifts by the Dalai Lama, which would sustain him and his party during their time in Tibet. Cashie had been given permission to accompany him on his tour and as a result there was a large number of dinner engagements and also an increased amount of sight-seeing with visits to several monasteries and administrative fortresses or *dzongs* (figure 3.9). As Bell made his approach into Gyantse on the 26th July 1915 with a 'cavalcade' of nearly fifty riders, it is visually impossible not to see Bell as a significant other within the Tibetan political and aristocratic hierarchies.

The objects Bell added to his collection during this tour reflected that status and can again be divided between high quality Tibetan items and Chinese pieces. As might be expected Palhese was again a critical mediator and he was responsible for the first gift of this tour, a pair of bell-metal vases with lizard-like dragons climbing around the necks (figure 3.10).¹²⁵ Several additional decorative Chinese pieces came into Bell's collection during this tour including what could be considered a companion piece to the bronze vases, a nineteenth century brass incense burner on tall tripod legs, with an equally mythical creature on the lid.¹²⁶ Kusho Doring, a relative of the Phalha family who Bell would stay with on several occasions, gave Bell a ceremonial knife with a fine jade handle and old cloisonné work sheath, the type worn by high officials in the

¹²⁴ Shelton, "Rational Passions," 208.

¹²⁵ *List of Curios* No. 270, now in Private Collection.

¹²⁶ *List of Curios* No. 275, now NML 50.31.73, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.73&mat=12&coll=1&page=2>

FIGURE 3.10
Pair of Bronze Vases
18th century, China
Obtained by Palhese from Lhalu House
Courtesy of Private Collection



Tibetan government.¹²⁷ Then in addition to the objects Tsarong gave Bell in an official capacity from the Lhasa government, he would personally present Bell with three high quality pieces of Chinese ceramic from his ancestral home.¹²⁸

In contrast to these aristocratic acquisitions a very different collecting strategy became available to Bell when he visited the Drongtse and Tsenchokling monastery with Palhese on the 14th and 15th September while staying at the Phalha mansion in Drongtse. ‘Obtained’ on that day were two deeply carved thirteenth century manuscript covers, one collected from each site (Figure 3.11).¹²⁹ While Bell makes no mention of the book covers or their acquisition in his diary description for the trip to the monasteries, if we again turn to the *List of Curios* Bell does note that he ‘obtained’ the book covers from these religious sites. Rather than Palhese it is the Barmiok Lama who provides Bell with a description later that same year in December 1915, but

¹²⁷ *List of Curios* No. A40, now NML 50.31.32, see, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.32&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=3&expand=62466>

¹²⁸ *List of Curios* No. A37, A38 and A39, current location unknown. Bell did differentiate between his Chinese and Tibetan curios, placing them in separate sections of *The List of Curios*. What criteria Bell used to separate his collection is not entirely clear as both Chinese and Tibetan objects appear in both sections and objects given during the same events, in this case the 1915 tour, are also separated between the two sections.

¹²⁹ *List of Curios* No. 276, current location unknown and No.277, now NML 50.31.127, see <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.127&coll=1&page=1&theMeId=13>



FIGURE 3.11
Book Cover for Medical Text
13th century, Drongtse, Tibet
Private Collection

Palhese's hand in obtaining these covers should be apparent through his familial associations to Drongtse monastery.

This was the Phalha family monastery and the monastery of the Sengchen Lama, the Lama executed by the Lhasa government on the discovery of his support for Das during his 1881-82 visit. When Bell and Palhese visited the monastery in 1915, the monastery was deprived of its reincarnation and Palhese, a member of the family who was a principle supporter of the monastery would have had privileged access to the material culture held there. The term 'obtained' recorded in *List of Curios* leaves us with some ambiguity over how Bell came to own the book covers. Whether they were paid for or taken, the removal of these highly prized items from the monasteries, pieces of Tibet's cultural heritage made from wood, a precious resource in a country predominately above the tree line, could only have been made possible by Palhese. Bell, we have to surmise, in the wake of the Younghusband looting of Drongtse monastery, would not have countenanced their removal without Tibetan consent.

Two years later in 1917, Palhese performed the role of conduit to objects rather than ghost collector for Bell. This year it would be Palhese's brother, known to us only as Kusho Phalha (1869-1918) who would assist Bell in supplementing his growing collection.¹³⁰ The objects Bell collected in June 1917, while staying in Yatung with Macdonald, came directly from Kusho Phalha with prices paid recorded in *List of Curios*. Most expensive in this group and actually the most costly item Bell would purchase during his collecting period was a pair of staffs of office or *pe re* (figure 3.12). Kusho Phalha had managed to acquire these unusual objects via

¹³⁰ Bell provides a sketch of Kusho Phalha's life in *The People of Tibet*, 105-108.

his uncle Phalha Kenchen (1865-1925),¹³¹ one of the most influential monk officials in the Dalai Lama circle, who would go on to become the *Chikyab Khenpo* or Lord Chamberlain in 1922.¹³² Phalha Kenchen was the head of the Phalha family and his home was Bangyeshar, the aristocratic house in Lhasa that Palhese sold objects to Bell from in 1913. Had Bell asked the Phalha family to source the *pe re* for him? Did they become available for some reason and with Bell's connection to the Phalha's he seemed an obvious choice to sell these staffs of office to? This again is not recorded, but Bell paying a total of Rs. 320 for the pair was very keen to have them. This was more than double what he had paid for his previously most expensive item, the Derge beer jug, which was bought from Bangyeshar in 1913 for Rs. 150.

Bell understood their rarity in collecting circles. 'Only Sera and Drepung have pe-re like this. A few spare ones are kept in each of these two monasteries, perhaps 8 or 10 in each'. These staffs were difficult to add to a collection and were in practical terms heavy objects to carry back over the Himalaya and so even today they are rare things to see in a museum collection. No doubt the prestige of having such unusual objects in his collection made them particularly appealing and Bell with his aristocratic Tibetan circle was one of the few officers to have the contacts and opportunity to collect such rare pieces.

The impressive nature of the *pe re* does to some extent overshadow the other objects Bell obtained during his meeting with Kusho Phalha in June 1917, but several other objects had been selected in Lhasa for Bell including two Xuande dynasty (1399-1435) incense bowls, acquired with some coercion by Kusho Phalha from the caretaker of the Gesar or Chinese Temple.¹³³ A small ceramic dish was of particular importance to the Phalha family and its history was recounted by Kusho Phalha to Bell before he gave him the piece.¹³⁴ This small ceramic dish, covered with red enamel and embossed with a repeating swastika design and *shou* motif was a Phalha family heirloom. 'This cup has been at least 300 years in the possession of the Palha family in the Yang-ku. The most valuable things are kept in the yang-ku [heirloom chest] and are not taken out'. Kusho Phalha believed it dated to the time of the late Tibetan empire, describing

¹³¹ *List of Curios* No. 279, now NML 50.31.116a-b, see <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.116a&coll=1&page=1&themeId=5>

¹³² Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet 1728 – 1959*, 85.

¹³³ *List of Curios* No. A43 likely to be in Private Collection and A44, now NML 50.31. 53, see, Bell recorded that, 'Kusho Palha asked the caretaker of the images to let him have one or two old articles, and so eventually the caretaker let him have this and number A44'.

¹³⁴ *List of Curios* No. A42, now NML 50.31.41, see <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.41&coll=1&page=1&themeId=2>



FIGURE 3.12
 Staffs of Office or *pe re*
 18th century, Drepung Monastery, Lhasa
 Charles Bell Collection
 National Museums Liverpool 50.31.116a-b
 Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool

it as a cup of King Wang.¹³⁵ It had survived the Younghusband expedition having been removed for safe keeping from the *yang ku*, before the Phalha home in Gyantse could be requisitioned and partially destroyed by the British. Kusho Phalha's description of the dish, illustrates its tangible connection to the Tibetan kings, emphasising the aristocratic lineages of the Phalha family. Despite Bell's misgivings over the alleged antiquity of the dish (see Chapter 5), it was another object that had an exceptional history and epitomised the difficult to find, prestigious objects that Bell was able to add to his collection due to his relationship with Palhese.

It is not difficult to see that Palhese and the wider Phalha family gave Bell extraordinary access to Tibetan aristocratic objects of desires and as a result Bell's 'Tibet' collection must be thought of as Tibetan in the broadest possible terms. Bell's Tibetan 'curios' were not wholly Tibetan or collected to represent a hermetically sealed cultural Tibet, a land of mysticism and malign monsters. Instead his collecting represents Tibet somewhat more realistically. These pieces reflect the mobile nature of objects and how they came to Tibetans in a whole manner of ways; as gifts, as purchases, as acquisitions under questionable circumstances, through trade and as family heirlooms. This period of Bell's collecting reflects more than any other the Tibetan

¹³⁵ King Wang is said to have lived sometime after the Tibetan King, Ralpacan (806-838) and before the founder of the Gelukpa Je Tsongkhapa (1357-1419).

aristocratic aesthetic of the early twentieth century, something he wanted to attain and emulate for the purpose of enhancing his own standing and prestige in Tibetan society.

Regimes of Values in a Collection of Curios

Bell moved amongst and between the three collecting sites we have excavated throughout his Himalayan career, with each coming to the fore (some repeatedly) at different moments. A photograph that records his drawing room mantelpiece (figure 3.14) illustrates perfectly the prominent role curios played during his Himalayan life. His curios not only outline this life, retracing his growing and maturing understanding of Tibet and its culture, but coupled with this photograph Bell's curios offer us a visual map of his networks and how objects played an integral part in the maintaining of those alliances. In this rather striking setting we also gain some understanding of the aura that surrounded many of the objects in his collection. We see what importance he placed on the extraordinary histories of individual objects and his own connection to them. Furthermore, his knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism and its associated material culture, something he understood from the books he read, the monasteries he visited, the questions he asked and from the gifts he received, is also clearly evident in the mantelpiece's arrangement. Here we see the two Shakyamuni Buddhas placed in an elevated position at the centre of the shelf, while the peaceful and powerful figures surround them. Below the figures are a series of vessels and lamps that are reminiscent of the implements placed on a personal or monastic shrine, while at either side of the mantelpiece we find swords (suggesting the arms and armour propped against the walls in a protective chapel or *gonkhang*). Then come the accoutrements of the high official in the form of personal pockets, purses and containers, this time not only indicative of status, but also evocative of the many streamers and papers suspended from monastery and household pillars that are occasionally recorded in Bell's photographs.

His careful positioning of the objects not only reflected the multiple values Bell placed on them, but in their elevated position on a custom-made mantelpiece he points to their personal value in that they had been, 'set-apart' and 'taken to be extraordinary, special and capable of generating reverence.'¹³⁶ This setting apart went hand-in-hand with Bell's ability to present through display the knowledge he had acquired during his tenure. Not only was his expertise evident in the books he would publish but here, through his objects, he was able to demonstrate that he was a 'knower', a man who had not only inhabited a privileged world, but had also gained privileged things. Strong reiterates this, when thinking about the extension of self through the positioning of objects. "The collection relies upon the box, the cabinet, the cupboard, the seriality

¹³⁶ Belk cited in Pearce *On Collecting*, 24.

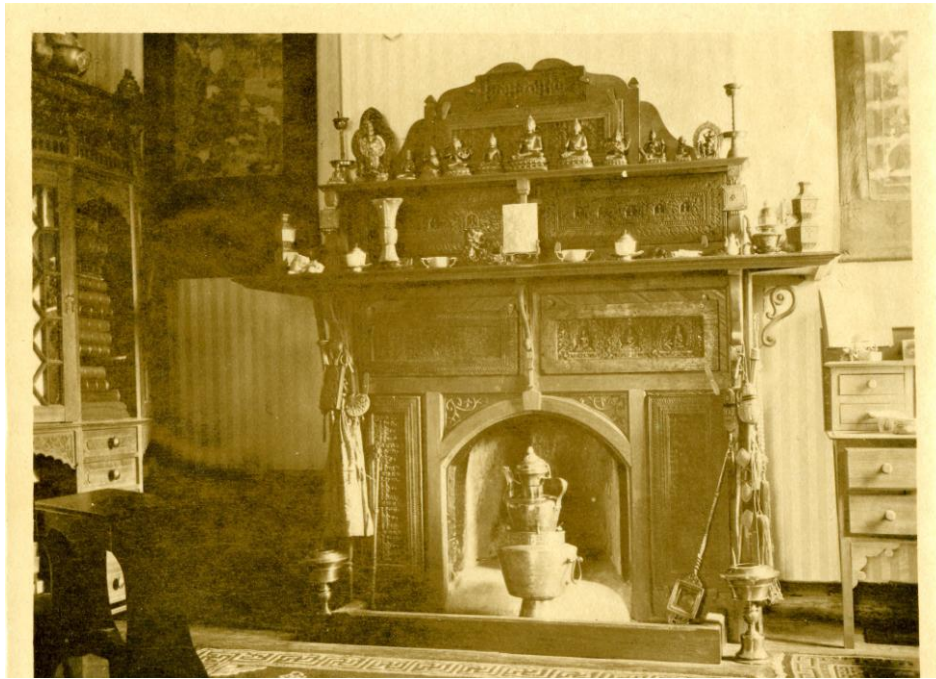


FIGURE 3.13
Bell's drawing room mantelpiece made from manuscript covers
After 1921
Courtesy of Private Collection

of shelves. It is determined by these boundaries...this filling in is a matter of ornamentation and presentation in which the interior is both a model and a project of self fashioning'.¹³⁷ The fact that Bell chose to photograph this display, demonstrates what I will call a 'material re-telling'. It was not enough to fashion a Himalayan self through collection and display, but there was a necessity to document his selection and positioning criteria through photography in order to box in and permanently freeze those connective threads that Bell imagined bound these objects together.

Tellingly, despite his pride in his knowledge and his skill in visualizing this for those who would enter his home, this display not only captures Bell's status as someone who knew Tibet, but it also identifies him as an outsider. He shows himself to be an observer, a recorder of Tibetan objects, someone who was not intimate with their use through ritual practice, nor was he someone who valued them with religious reverence. The evidence is in the very fabric of the mantelpiece itself, for this mantelpiece is not only a tool to display the refashioning of self, but it is in itself integral to Bell's collecting process. It is in fact made from the many book covers he collected. These book covers, some hundreds of years old, from monasteries of great significance were now devoid of all context and slotted into position, some on their sides, to create an object of focus, a material retelling of Bell's Himalayan life.

¹³⁷ Strong, *ibid.*, 157.



‘The Foundation of the Road of Harmony’

The Semantics of the Diplomatic Gift during the Anglo-Tibetan Encounter, 1910-1914

When giving presents on behalf of his [Tibetan] Government to the representative of another country, an official may describe them as ‘the foundation of the road of harmony’.

The expression sounds somewhat mercenary, but is quite in order. – Charles Bell¹

Political leaders and heads of state have been giving and receiving gifts for hundreds of years... Most are meaningless, albeit well-meaning, tokens of diplomatic goodwill that end up in a national archive. And yet it doesn’t stop everyone trying to interpret the gestures.

– Ian Hollingshead²

As the Dalai Lama stepped down from his carriage on the morning of the 14th March 1910, he was entering into a new diplomatic encounter that the British would decide required a culture all of its own. Little more than a month before neither the British nor the Tibetans could have imagined a meeting like the one that was about to take place that spring morning in Calcutta, for this was to be the first meeting between Tibet’s temporal ruler the Dalai Lama and his British India equivalent the Viceroy, Lord Minto (1845-1914). As shots rang out and a brass band began to play and with the curious staff of Hastings House hanging from the balconies to catch a glimpse of the unusual visitor down below, the first attempts to develop a new Anglo-Tibetan diplomatic grammar began. There watching, assessing and constructing this new culture of contact from the sidelines, were Bell and Laden La.

This chapter then will take one step back from Bell’s curios and his immediate circle into the wider world of British India and Pan Asia diplomacy. In particular, the focus will fall on the

¹ Bell, *The People of Tibet*, 248.

² Hollingshead, “Barack Obama and David Cameron: the diplomatic gift that will keep on giving.”

construction of a grammar³ that was to accompany this fledgling diplomatic relationship, with our primary concern resting on the materiality of those meetings, the gifts. Gifts concern us here for several reasons. Charry and Shahani describe the gift as; ‘one of the most crucial instruments of mediation in the history of diplomacy’⁴ and in this particular role we will see how gifts shaped the relationship between these two parties. This chapter will additionally give us the opportunity to consider the fate of Tibetan objects now in museum collections. Tibetan objects of diplomacy now very often find themselves deprived of their political agency; instead many sit heavily wrapped in religious or art historical interpretations, all evidence of their lives as tools of mediation long since removed. Furthermore, Bell had, both in his lifetime and much later in the museum space, been labelled as being, ‘not much of a collector’,⁵ perceived instead as a passive receiver of gifts. Placed within this more benign framework, Bell’s collection has been understood as one assembled through reciprocal means. While Bell’s gifts have often been described as gifts of friendship from one man to another, Chapter 3 has shown that we must be wary of framing these gifted objects in such romantic and nostalgic terms. So it seems worthwhile to re-examine the wider understanding of the Anglo-Tibetan gift and the complex processes surrounding it. By doing so I offer a fresh way of reading the gift that enables us to understand exactly what a gift was for a colonial officer in the early twentieth century.

At the mere mention of gifts, it is tempting to ‘return to the gift’,⁶ by reading what we will witness here through a Maussian lens. But I want to advise caution in wholeheartedly embracing the enduring legacy of Mauss’s *The Gift* in this colonial context. While Mauss’s gifts were understood by actors negotiating within comparable paradigms, here we will see gift exchanges refracted through colonial power relations, where material contact is made problematic by the asymmetrical nature of the relationship. As a result we will be party not only to differing regimes of value and differing notions of hierarchy, but also mimicry and transculturation. If Mauss cannot solve all our problems here, how then should these moments of material exchange and contact be situated? While the historical foundations for this chapter are built on research that rethinks pre-colonial contact, including several valuable discussions on early modern Anglo-Indian gift exchanges,⁷ I intend to think beyond India’s boundaries

³ Michael, “When Soldiers and Statemen Meet: ‘Ethnographic Moments’ on the Frontiers of Empire, 1800-1815,” 89.

⁴ Charry and Shahani, “Introduction,” 16.

⁵ Per cons between Hugh Richardson, Louise Tythacott and Jane Moore during a meeting at Richardson’s home in St Andrew’s, 1997.

⁶ Liebersohn, *The Return of the Gift*.

⁷ Great inspiration has come from Charry and Shahani, *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture* and especially in that volume Loomba, “Of Gifts, Ambassadors, and Copy-cats: Diplomacy, Exchange, and Difference in Early Modern India,” 41-75. Also, Eaton’s temporally later “Between Mimesis and Alterity: Art, Gift, and Diplomacy in

returning to the idea of transculturation. This time, I will specifically work through the idea of ‘contact culture’, which offers a powerful way into the three exchanges that will unfold over the following pages. Agnew,⁸ Campbell⁹ and Michael¹⁰ each adopt contact culture thinking to bring attention to the novelty of those exceptional occasions when two rulers meet and as a result new objects, new performative expressions and new cultural behaviour are elicited that:

belonged, in other words, to the culture of contact only, not to the culture of daily life or the culture of normal experience. Here we have to take pre-contact into account, what had both sides experienced in similar scenarios before and to what extent did the expectations of the encounter result in a new form of cultural encoding of objects, space and actions at the moment of contact.¹¹

Through the three events pieced together from the British India archival record we will see how expectations changed as a result of these gifting experiences. While the British do their best to correct what they perceived to be incorrect behaviour (on their part and on the part of the Tibetans), they also negotiated this unexpected encounter using an ‘analogousness’ framework. More specifically, they used their pre-contact with the Indian states and the Mughal empire as their frame of reference for understanding the Tibetans. The Tibetans whose gifting practices were more closely bound to the Manchu empires of China and Mongolia were also in flux; disconnected at times from their power bases and the gifts that went with them. They reworked their limited powers in exile, but moreover they incorporated British Indian practices and gifts on their own terms and in ways that benefited their wider political aims. The decisions of both parties would result on occasion in very particular pieces of contact material culture.

The Origins of the Anglo-Tibetan Gift-Exchange

It is also auspicious to be generous. The good deed of giving cannot be accomplished by being miserly - from the *Mangala Sutra*, translated by Charles Hallisey¹²

The giving of presents to persons able to exercise power or confer favours was an immemorial curse, in India. - O’Malley¹³

The major gifting events of 1910-14 were deeply indebted to the respective pre-contact gifting cultures of Tibet and British India. Both parties had been enmeshed in diplomatic gifting for centuries, but despite the polarity of the quotations that begin this section what might not be so

Colonial India, 1770-1800,” 816-844, “Critical cosmopolitanism: gifting and collecting art in Lucknow, 1775-97,” 189-204 and *Mimesis across Empires: Artworks and Networks in India 1765-1860*.

⁸ Agnew, *Enlightened Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds*.

⁹ Campbell, “The Culture of Culture Contact: Refractions from Polynesia,” 63-86.

¹⁰ Michael, “When Soldiers and Statemen Meet,” 80-94.

¹¹ Campbell, *ibid.*, 64.

¹² The *Mangala Sutra*, translates as, ‘the commentary on the scripture about auspicious things’, in Hallisey, 1995: 428).

¹³ O’Malley, *The Indian Civil Service 1601-1930*, 13.

apparent is that their practices had common origins and the acts they performed and the gifts that they gave overlapped at the margins. To trace the origins of this commonality we have to start with the Turko-Mongol practice of robing, more widely known by its Mughal term *khil'at*, a practice that developed during China's Han dynasty (206BC–220AD) and which flourished in imperial Mongolia (Yuan dynasty 1271-1368).

Gordon who in his edited volumes and published works has built a historiography of the *khil'at* discusses a commonality shown across vast distances, not only in the robing process,¹⁴ but also in the types of objects given at the time of robing, many of which will become very familiar during this chapter. The practice of robing had both diplomatic and military beginnings, in the diplomatic context silks were sent by Han rulers to Mongolian nomads to build alliances, on the other hand on pledging allegiance to a nomadic warrior his followers would receive the spoils of war, including, robes, horses, trappings, daggers, weapons, gold and coins, the types of objects that we shall repeatedly see in the gifts given by Tibet and occasionally by the British.¹⁵ This was a robing system that geographically outstripped that of Mauss's *kula* as; 'it was also not an organizing principle of the society it was practiced in. *Khil'at* [was] at home in monetized and unmonetized society, nomadic and sedentary societies, a variety of ecologies, religions and languages.'¹⁶ This gifting and honouring process then had the ability to mean all things to many peoples and it was this adaptability that saw; 'aspects of the sacred thoroughly mixed with the political, spilling over obvious geographical barriers with local variants [becoming] comprehensible to long-distance travellers'.¹⁷ Importantly for us, this system, originating with the nomadic communities of Mongolia, spilled into Tibet, China (particularly the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties) and also into Mughal India (1520s-1800). It is this system of gifting that we will take as our starting point for the practices used by *both* British India and Tibet in the early twentieth century.¹⁸ While the two parties had developed their practices with faint echoes of the Turko-Mongol practice of gifting robes as a signifier of fealty, it would be the culture of each party and how it now articulated the act of gifting that when the two parties met would lead to a new negotiated contact culture.

¹⁴ Gordon, *Robes and Honor*, and *Robes of Honour: Khil'at in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India*

¹⁵ The Tibetan word *rma gos* provides an interesting link here. Goldstein describes it as, 'a gift consisting of a full set of clothing – an ancient custom in Tibet whereby a person injured in a fight is compensated by his rival with clothing'. *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, 833.

¹⁶ Gordon, *Robes and Honor*, 25n.

¹⁷ Gordon, *Robes of Honour*, 3.

¹⁸ Gordon also notes it was, 'neither exclusively Islamic nor South Asian. It was used in a manner comprehensible to participants in a far larger world that included Christian Byzantium and Eastern Europe, North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, Spain, the Middle East, Persia, Russia and the Caucasus, Central Asia, Tibet and China'. Gordon, *ibid.*, 2.

Tibet: Ceremonials and the Gift

For a long period it was the custom for both Tibet and Nepal to send periodical Missions, usually regarded as tribute Missions, to Peking. The Mission from Tibet was styled Ten-che (Rten chas) (Rten 'bul) in Tibetan, which means 'commodities' in general and -according to the Tibetan authorities - 'articles for presentation' in particular. - Charles Bell¹⁹

In coming to an understanding of a Tibetan gifting culture recent discussions have focussed primarily on the impact of Buddhism. Berger in thinking through the meeting and gift exchanges that took place between Tibetan monastic figures and Qing emperors notes that; 'In Buddhist practice, gift giving (Sanskrit: *dana*) is a central, spiritual virtue that recognises not only the wishes or needs of the recipient, but also the value of the giver's proper spirit of generosity'.²⁰ If we stretch this concept further Heim in her analysis of Buddhist texts considers a generosity of spirit to be an essential quality of, 'a good person'²¹ and in the case of the *Theravada Commentary on the Compendium of Discourses*, it is clear that a gift is not just dropped at the recipient's feet, but it is given and it must be given in the right way.

A good person gives with due honor, intentionally, with one's own hand, only what is not discarded, and whenever one sees a guest approach. Another list says that a good person gives with esteem, with due honour, in a timely fashion, with a mind that holds nothing back, and without reducing the gift for oneself or another.²²

Dana, or *slong mo* in Tibetan, is imbued with honour and generosity and Heim sums up the Buddhist culture of gifting eloquently. 'To know how to give – to be gracious rather than grasping – is to be civilized'.²³ While tying *dana* to objects of diplomacy is useful in order for us to grapple with the sentiment behind the act of gifting and specifically in the case of *dana*, alms giving, we really need to cast our diplomatic net a little wider for terminology that is culture specific to Tibetan gifting. It is Bell, shown in the quotation above, who in trying to make sense of Tibet's material contact with the Qing dynasty has in fact already given us a useful insight into where to look next.

Bell may conflate the two terms but, *rten 'bul*, the offering of a gift for presentation, or the delegation who gave the presentation and *rten chas*, the gifts or things for presentation, are a much better fit here than *dana* or *slong mo*. For while *slong mo* is used for specifically religious gifting, a gift given freely without any expectation, the term *rten 'bul* and its diplomatic context, one in which two power bases are connected by material contact to maintain alliances, more accurately describes what we will see here. *Rten 'bul* as we will see was clearly given with

¹⁹ Bell, *Tibet: Past & Present*, 216.

²⁰ Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 130.

²¹ Heim, *Theories of the Gift in South Asia*, 91.

²² Heim, *ibid.*

²³ Heim, *ibid.*, xv

expectation, these gifts were not just graciously given, but they were accompanied by *'bul tho* or *'bul tshig* that is gift lists and letters that gave descriptive accounts of those networked objects and the reason for their inclusion. On their receipt, these gifts and their histories would be logged in a *'bul deb*, or gift book, an inventory that would preserve the inalienable wealth of those gifts, reflecting the power and diplomatic reach of their new owner.²⁴

So far the most visible of these gifting events have been those between Tibet and several Chinese dynasties. The Tang annals, for example, report on the arrival of Tibetan minister Gar Tongtsen at the Tang court in 640 to present the Emperor Taizong with, 'five thousand ounces of gold and precious baubles'.²⁵ While these baubles sound intriguing it is the Ming Emperor, Yongle (reigned 1402-1424), and his 1407 gift to the increasingly influential fifth Karmapa, Deshin Shekpa (1384-1415), that gives us a better sense of the generous material contact that resulted from these diplomatic encounters:

three white saddle-horses, eighteen other white horses, seven bre of gold, thirty-seven bre of silver, more than one hundred silk garments, thirty baskets of tea, fifteen sets of gold rdo-rje and bells, two gold flasks, silver flasks, gold and silver cymbals, five gold and silver plates.²⁶

The auspicious white horses (greys or chestnuts being out of the question),²⁷ the silk clothing and the gold are reminiscent of the booty distributed in the Mongolian nomadic camp and very clearly act as signifiers that point to Tibetan nomadic and warrior culture. We also see additional 'packets of meaning'²⁸ that make these gifts Tibetan specific, including religious material culture and the centrality of the robe.

In the case of China and Tibet, gifts symbolised the esteem that both parties had for one another and formed a vital component in the lavish ceremonials that took place during their meetings. There were also many, what Laden La would much later describe as, 'additional compliments', that gauged the level of respect a host had for his guest. Everything from the distance travelled to greet the incoming party, to a gift bearer's seating arrangements (during

²⁴ There is evidence to suggest that several objects, now thought to have been given during gift exchanges still have their treasury inventory tag attached. For one such example see, La Rocca (2006: 58), the steel suit of armour (BM 1880-725). Macdonald describes, the Potala's reserve treasury, known as, 'The Treasury of the Sons of Heaven' as, 'the Namse Bangdzo' within which, 'are stored the accumulated gifts of centuries, presented to the Dalai Lama by the Chinese emperors and pious pilgrims from all over Lamaist Asia'. Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 240.

²⁵ Beckworth, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power Among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs and Chinese During the Early Middle Ages*, 24. Beckworth cites Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu* (Old History of the Tang), Beijing (1975: 3:52) as his source.

²⁶ Sperling, "Early Ming Policy Towards Tibet," 36.

²⁷ In deciding on a gift for the Dalai Lama in return for gifts given to Lord Minto in 1910 at Hastings House, Calcutta, Bell and Laden La suggest a horse, but with stipulations, 'It should be very quiet colour white or dun. It should not be grey, which is for civil lay officials, not black which is for army officers. And above all nor chestnut or bay, which are for butchers + others, the lowest classes in Tibet', NAI, FD, Internal, June 1910. No.63 Deposit.

²⁸ I have reworked Gordon's apt turn of phrase, 'other 'packets' of symbols and customs', see Gordon, "Introduction," 25.

banquets and during audiences) in relation to the emperor, then there were the many bestowals given to the gift bearer during their stay which showered honour on the bearer during these tightly choreographed occasions, which in turn honoured the receiver of the gifts. These great displays of feasting and mutual appreciation, gave certain gifts a ritualistic or inalienable function that they would retain, thereby making the objects synonymous with a particular event and the individuals involved, heightening for the receiver their value.

Gifting also had the potential to recognise the cultural and historical expertise of the receiver and their abilities to read tacit, but highly valuable meanings encoded into objects as a result of previous gifting events. In the case of the sixth Panchen Lama, Lobsang Palden Yeshe (1738-1780), he would present to the Qianlong Emperor (reigned 1735-1796) a shell with a history, for this shell had already been gifted by a Ming emperor to a Tibetan Lama. The Panchen Lama showed here his deft touch when it came to the art of gift-giving, a gift that Berger thought; ‘was the subtlest of gifts, an object that demonstrated how much the lama respected Qianlong’s abilities as a connoisseur - a ‘knower’ - privy to the secrets of Buddhist practice but also sensitive to the implications of behaviour that mirrored in a very specific way the actions of earlier figures’.²⁹ The delight for the Panchen Lama was in knowing that the Qianlong Emperor could read this conch shell; the Lama knew the creativity of his selection would not go unnoticed. What we see here then is a contact culture that had developed a recognisable grammar that incorporated objects with networked histories and highly choreographed gestures. We will see this kind of adept gift selection again later in this chapter, but this time from the Dalai Lama, for another emperor, King George V. On that occasion the Dalai Lama would not be so fortunate in his receiver, who was not necessarily (or willing to admit that he was) a ‘knower’.

While Tibet’s most luxurious material contact would have long historical links, the Tibetans were not averse to forming new coalitions as the politics of imperial space played out around them. While Tibet was deemed off-limits by the British, the Tibetans were rethinking their gifting missions, reassessing the power bases that surrounded them. In 1901, Tibet turned away from China and looked north to Russia. Russian press reports claimed that the Buryat Lama Dorzhiev had met with Tsar Nicholas II at St. Petersburg,³⁰ and that along with a number of gifts,³¹ there was an accompanying letter. The reply sent by the Tsar read; ‘that, given the friendly and full well-disposed attitude of Russia, no danger will threaten Tibet in her fortunes

²⁹ Berger, *ibid.*, 184.

³⁰ Shakya, “The Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso,” 143. For detailed accounts of Dorzhiev’s life see, Snelling (1993) and Andreyev (2003)

³¹ Several of these gifts can now be found in The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, including a silver Dharmacakra set with rock crystal and gilded (Inventory No KO-884).

hereafter',³² giving a clear indication that the gifts offered by the Dalai Lama had been sent to request support to keep the British at bay and to maintain Tibetan independence from the increasingly weak Qing Dynasty.³³

But when Dorjiev made the return journey to Russia in 1912, again with gifts and letters for the Tsar and the Russian government, the political landscape had changed beyond all recognition. Britain and Russia had since signed the 1907 Anglo-Russian Entente that stipulated that neither country would interfere in Tibet's internal affairs. After his warm reception in 1901 Dorjiev might have thought he would get a second opportunity to solidify this young diplomatic relationship with further gifts for the Tsar including; '50,000 silver *lans* for the Petersburg Buddhist temple and sacred *burhans*, the divine images to be installed therein',³⁴ but the new entente and the increasing importance of the nation state made the gift far too personal, and when the Russian Foreign Minister Sazonov denied an audience it had left Dorzhiev and the Dalai Lama in a diplomatic wilderness.³⁵

Giving and Receiving -The British India Experience

The question of presents produced much discussion, and opinions were asked for and given by many high officials both at home and in India. This custom gave rise to many difficulties in the early days of our Indian rule, for since the days of Lord Bacon no Englishman in an official position has been able to receive a present without incurring the imputation of corruption. - John Martineau 1895.³⁶

Sir Thomas Roe (d.1644) arrived in India in 1615, his diplomatic mission to persuade the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1569-1627) that England was a trading force to be reckoned with. Roe, in order to woo Jahangir had brought what he must have thought would be seen as a wonderful array of English manufactured gifts, but he had woefully underestimated the ceremonial world he was entering. Roe, finding himself in unfamiliar and extraordinarily luxurious territory, realized he had been outwitted by another trading contender, the Portuguese, who gave Jahangir; 'Jewels, Ballests and Pearles with much disgrace to our English commoditie'.³⁷ But this was not the end of the story, for both Roe and the emperor Jahangir would develop a gifting culture that was not only site specific, but person specific, as they gifted and shared with each other small cameos and portraits that the men would 'test' each others connoisseurial skills with. Both men, Roe as a courtier and Jahangir as an emperor, had existed in kingly spaces before they met, and

³² Andreyev, *Soviet Russia and Tibet*, 29.

³³ This gift exchange forms a direct comparison with the exchange between George V and the Dalai Lama in 1913, which is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

³⁴ Andreyev, *ibid.*, 57.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Martineau, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere*, 127.

³⁷ Cited in Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, 24.

both used their knowledge of these royal seats to define their roles in this developing commercial/diplomatic space.

Materially there were adjustments. Roe was less than enthusiastic when he was offered a *khi'at*, that he thought of as a second hand robe, while Jahangir had no need for the scratchy English woollen cloths Roe had brought with him. As a result alternatives had to be found, such as the miniatures, swords and eventually horses were gifted, the delight or otherwise of the receiver gauged and incorporated for the next gifting event. The British had come to India with their own European diplomatic etiquette and gifting protocols,³⁸ but soon realized that the etiquette broadly understood in European diplomatic circles would need to be 'blunted'³⁹ if their survival in India was to be guaranteed. Materially there were obvious comparisons, but the tensions that underpinned these exchanges rested on differing expectations. The British were not there to be delighted by material things, but instead they read these gifting events for signs that the trade rights they had come for would be granted.

Little more than one hundred years later, the act of gifting had fundamentally changed. By 1764 the Directors of the The East India Company (hereafter EIC) outlawed their employees from accepting gifts or presents, but it would be another decade before Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 could enforce this law by parliamentary decree. The gift was becoming a dirty word for the British epitomised by the 1788 trial of Warren Hastings on charges that included corruption and the giving and taking of gifts. The idea of the gift in India was now connected to the scramble for political control in Bengal, where EIC officers like Robert Clive (1725–1774) could build fortunes through extortion, disguised as Indian traditions of gifting.⁴⁰ The act of gifting was in a process of transformation in which, 'prestation and counter-prestation had become a contracted exchange'.⁴¹ Hastings may have been acquitted, but the links between gifting and bribery were now deeply entwined in both the British and the British India psyche. This period would herald the arrival of a new system of financial management which would see every ceremony and every gift exchange given a tight budget, a system of accounting that is still recognisable in the British civil service today. It was time as one Baroda Resident later wrote in 1856 to; 'reject every thing that is subtle and tortuous and consider the interests of the British Government ... by a strict adherence to what is just and honourable'.⁴² The British in India (and at home) now myopic in their determination to maintain their own form of prestige began the

³⁸ See Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth Century France*; Wisch and Scott Munshower (eds.) *"All the World's Stage": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*; Charry and Shahani, *ibid*.

³⁹ Pinch, "Same Difference in India and Europe," 401.

⁴⁰ See Liebersohn, *The Return of the Gift*, 10-19.

⁴¹ Cohn, *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge*, 118.

⁴² Fisher, "The Resident in Court Ritual, 1764-1858," 454.

process of institutionally forgetting their ambassadorial gifting history, moving instead towards a system of laws and procedures that embodied the nation state. The reciprocal gift was for the British in India becoming outdated, to be replaced by negotiation, diplomacy and commerce.⁴³

A gift however, did not involve just one party and local ruling elites were acutely offended by the return of unopened, and even uneaten, gifts. The British had committed what Eaton describes as; ‘the ultimate transgression of Mughal civility (*adab*)’.⁴⁴ The Regulating Act of 1773 had overachieved and in doing so had sought to stultify the practices of, and the ceremonies surrounding *khil’at* and *nazr* (the giving of money and gifts for tribute). But gift-giving practices could not be outlawed completely if trading and political relations were to continue. So while the gift of money or jewels, both easily converted into personal wealth, was outlawed, Eaton gives an insight into the elevating of art and particularly the portrait in the gifting culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Eaton charts the devising of a new gifting system that echoed Roe’s own early attempts, which incorporated elements of British and Mughal gifting practices, what she calls, ‘colonial hybridization’.⁴⁵ While these hybrid gifting practices were very much a signature of a maturing contact culture, this culture was increasingly distorted by the colonial presence typified by Hastings. He; ‘believed that the British rulers of Bengal must conduct a foreign policy within a diplomatic system comparable to that of Europe’.⁴⁶

Despite the British wish to push so vehemently against an Indian/Mughal gifting culture, by the turn of the twentieth century gifting and their ceremonials were still an essential part of British Indian culture. The British had asserted their power and control through the construction of their own pomp and pageantry, most visibly in the Durbars of 1877, 1903 and 1911.⁴⁷ Despite this there were still traces of Mughal culture, not only in the parading elephants at the Durbars, but in the Mughal terminology used in the classifying of gifting and greeting. However, this was not read as a melding of gestures, attitudes and material culture that had reached its maturity, but instead as superficiality, an affront that an increasing number of rulers of the Indian Princely States - typified in a letter to the Foreign Office from the Maharaja of Bikaner on the 29th December 1909 - challenged:

perhaps my community are too sensitive and perhaps we are wrong, yet whatever it may be, the fact remains that the feeling is that, for diverse reasons of several years’ standing...our

⁴³ Liebersohn, *ibid.*, 166-167.

⁴⁴ Eaton, “Between Mimesis and Alterity,” 819.

⁴⁵ Eaton, *ibid.*, 818,

⁴⁶ Quoted in Eaton, *ibid.*, 822.

⁴⁷ Codell, *Power and Resistance: The Delhi Coronation Durbars*.

dignity and importance has gradually diminished to some extent and that we do not no longer occupy the same position as we did some 40 to 50 years ago⁴⁸

Spencer Harcourt Butler (1869-1938), Foreign Secretary for the British India government issued his response on 21st April 1910 to India's leading Residents and Political Officers (Charles Bell included) asking them to pay greater attention to protocol and in doing so fix precedents through filing reports on ceremonial occasions, that could be followed by their successors.⁴⁹ While Butler was well aware that times were changing and that with; 'the increase of informal friendly intercourse..., a certain laxity towards ceremonial may not unnaturally creep in, or a disposition may grow up, as a result of the spread of modern education, to regard oriental custom in such matters as tending to become obsolete'.⁵⁰ He was also adamant in his directions that the emergence of any new contact culture should be stymied; 'great care should be taken not to permit any new customs to grow up during a minority'. Furthermore, British India's gifting culture would again be tightly fixed and bound for the twentieth century in the newly issued *Manual of Instructions to Officers of the Political Department of the Government of India*.⁵¹ Written by Butler and issued by the Foreign Office to Bell on the 12th January 1910, this document superseded previous court circulars and presented a framework for every kind of protocol to be followed during contact with India's Princes. Clearly of grave concern, for it featured on the opening page, was the peril of gifting.

In the intercourse with the natives of your circle it is hardly necessary to advert to the subject of giving and receiving presents...but there is a necessity...for every agent to maintain on a high ground, not only the purity but the disinterestedness of the English character; and you will avoid as much as you possibly can, incurring any obligation to local authorities⁵²

These guidelines (see Appendix 5, Text Box 2) would steer Bell's material relationships with Tibet, defining and limiting the developing protocols, ceremonials and formation of the gifting events we will see shortly.

While there is strong evidence to suggest that the ceremonials, gifts and their significance for both the Tibetans and the British in India can be traced to early diplomatic and military encounters on the Mongolian frontiers the core principle of 'honour' had become completely opposed. For the Tibetans honour came with gracious generosity, but for an Englishman to be 'just and honourable' he must remain 'disinterestedness' avoiding any bending of the colonial rule book. With such differing points of view on the concept of 'honour' and its application to

⁴⁸ IOR, R/2/752/36 File 9.

⁴⁹ See Appendix 5, Text Box 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ NAI, FD, General. March 1910, Nos.92-104 Part B.

⁵² *Ibid.*

the culture of gifting we can anticipate that when Tibetans and the British demonstrated their individual honourable behaviour there would be ample opportunity for misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Pre-contact analogies would constantly raise their head during these cultural encounters, informing a range of expectations and pre-existing cultural encodings, but these very specific moments would fashion new modes of diplomatic performance and new understandings of how objects could construct an imagining of self. They both used a grammar that converged and indeed diverged at varying points, and this would result in all kinds of ambiguities and also something that closely resembled an Anglo-Tibetan contact culture.

Exile and Diplomacy: The Dalai Lama in British India 1910-1912

[W]hen one man meets another from a distance there is an exchange of presents, among which is a white scarf. The presents indicate the friendship; the white scarf shows how pure is this friendship. If converts come into the presence of a Grand Lama, the presents are vastly increased, and still more lavishly when Lama and Great King meet. – Charles Bell⁵³

I want to begin this unwrapping of the Anglo-Tibetan gift exchange not necessarily with the first gifting moment itself, but with the anxieties, uncertainties and negotiations that went into its construction. The complex nature of these negotiations and the preparations for this high-profile new arrival began as the British tracked the Dalai Lama's escape from Lhasa to British India, via a chain of British officers scattered across southern Tibet. This sudden bolt for exile had destabilised not only the Lhasa government, but also quite clearly the British India government. The Viceroy, Lord Minto recognised in dispatches that this would have; 'Not only on Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, but also on Indian opinion...a profound effect,' and he would go on to say that, 'It is also necessary that we should show our border states that we are not afraid of China'.⁵⁴ This was a moment of great diplomatic sensitivity, but nevertheless the British were circumspect. Within the last decade they had promoted the Panchen Lama as their preferred figure head for southern Tibet (see Chapter 3), ensuring that the Dalai Lama's arrival and his reception, needed to be carefully configured.

As the telegrams began to arrive and a picture of the Dalai Lama's movements began to emerge Butler issued orders on the same day as the Viceroy's statement to; 'instruct the local authorities to show His Holiness every personal courtesy', but tellingly, 'the visit should be regarded as private'.⁵⁵ This categorization gave an early indication of how British India would treat the Lama with this labelling of 'private' establishing a road map for the types of actions and

⁵³Bell, *Religion of Tibet*. 113.

⁵⁴ NAI, FD, Secret External, March 1910. Nos. 385-510 Part A.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

gestures that the British would offer the Dalai Lama.⁵⁶ It was vital for the workings of the Foreign Office to categorize the visit as early as possible to ensure that the appropriate documentation and archival material could be consulted to construct the two parties' future encounters. What the British were searching for in the archives was evidence of precedent and with Butler's request for, 'anything we have about Tibetan etiquette', resonating through the offices of the Foreign Office, the office underlings prepared a hefty dossier of previous contact with Tibetan and Himalayan dignitaries and it is at this stage that we begin to see how the British imagined their contact with the Dalai Lama would play out. The British would incorporate aspects of the 'ornamentation' that Cannadine has now laid out for us and we see this most notably in the preparations for the Dalai Lama's stay at the government guest house, Hastings House (figure 4.1). This would also manifest itself in the allocation of a nineteen gun salute for the Lama,⁵⁷ and in the decisions taken on how far the Viceroy would walk forward to meet the Lama when they greeted each other.⁵⁸ Laden La would even be sent out to purchase yellow pillow cases, bed sheets and flowers for the Dalai Lama's quarters and it is through these kinds of details that we see the assemblages of a new contact culture began to materialise.

The British were not content with just using their own invented traditions, but they continued to articulate and structure their own events using the grammar of Mughal ceremonials. Within these archival files that meticulously detail every decision made for these viceregal ceremonials we find reference to Persian terms including *mizaj pursi* (the wishing of health ceremony) and *nazr* (the giving of gifts), and I would argue that it is in the alignment of Tibetan

⁵⁶ There was a great deal of improvisation during the Dalai Lama's early days in Darjeeling and I would suggest this categorizing of the visit as private would also suit the Tibetans. They had brought little with them to reflect the Dalai Lama's position as temporal ruler of Tibet. Bell recalls, 'The Darjeeling authorities, to whose district he had come, accommodated him in a hotel on a central and crowded site, overlooked by the road, which ran at the same level as its roof. His attendants had arranged a dais and a hurriedly contrived throne in one of the largest rooms. They seemed pathetically out of place in that European hotel with its European furniture and upholstery. But they [throne etc] were necessary' (1987 [1946]: 103).

⁵⁷ Bell did in fact call for a twenty-one gun salute, but Butler's uncertainty over the Dalai Lama is very clear, 'Mr Bell thinks that His Holiness should get 21 guns...The Tashi [Panchen] Lama got 17 guns. As he was our friend and the Dalai Lama was not and is a refugee I think 19 guns is enough'. NAI, FD, Secret Internal, May 1910. Nos. 26-31 Part A. In a roll call of honours the nineteen gun salute would place Tibet in the second class of states who came under the indirect rule of British India, deemed in importance to be beneath the twenty-one gun salute states of, for example, Baroda and Gwalior.

⁵⁸ There was some discussion over the distance the Viceroy should travel to meet the Dalai Lama, finalizing the details on the 12th March Jelf notes that, 'According to the standard programme His Excellency should meet a 19 gun Chief three-fourths of the distance from the dais to the threshold of the Throne Room. In the case of the Tashi Lama's visit it was arranged that His Excellency should meet him at the threshold of the Throne Room and the present programme follows this latter precedent'. The timings of return calls and the distance the receiver came to meet the traveller was a crucial piece of etiquette for both parties. On Bell's arrival into Lhasa he carefully notes who has come to meet him and how far they have travelled, 'First met by Bhutanese representative (Druk Lochawa) with the usual scarf of welcome. 'Further on met by the Estate Agent (Chan Dzö) of the Pa-lha family met us' next, 'Here my old friend Do-ring's representative met me, and thus our party growing larger, and larger, we proceed until a couple of miles from our destination we were welcomed by the representatives of the Dalai Lama Sho-kang and the Council (Ka-Sha)...The Council's representative was Lönchen Shatra's son, who came to Simla with his father in 1913-14'. Bell, "Diary Volume 7."



FIGURE 4.1

The Tibetan exiles in Hastings House, March 1910. The Dalai Lama is seated, standing, to his actual right is Shatra, Lamen Khenpo stand behind the Lama's right shoulder and the soon to be Tsarong hovers above the group at the back. Calcutta, March 1910 (photographer Bourne & Shepherd)
Courtesy of a Private Collection.

practices of etiquette with Mughal terminology that we begin to see the contestation or renegotiation of Tibetan gestures and their reworking for the British India diplomatic space. By highlighting just one, uniquely Tibetan piece of material culture we can unpick the processes the British went through as they sought to make material contact with the Tibetans.

The Khatag: Gift or Greeting?

The giving and receiving of the ceremonial Tibetan white scarf or *khatag* was prior to this first meeting causing some concern for the British. The exchanging of scarves understood in the Tibetan context as a marker of contact between two individuals would now need to be reworked for this meeting between two (non)nation states. Its ambiguity as a multi-functional object, (as gift or letter wrap, offering of welcome, offering for veneration, letter substitute and gift in its own right) meant there was no one precedent that could determine the typology that should be applied to the *khatag*, nor the accepted British approach to its use.⁵⁹ The first *khatag* in this burgeoning relationship would arrive on the 3rd February 1910 in Calcutta, just three weeks

⁵⁹ See Hevia (2005) for a critique of the British manipulation of a piece of Chinese etiquette and ceremonial, the *koutou* during the Macartney Embassy's visit to Qianlong in 1793.

before the Lama would flee Lhasa for British India. A hurried oral message had been delivered from the Dalai Lama for Minto, regarding the tense situation in Lhasa. This message validated by the *khatag* in question was both unreadable and unanswerable for Butler who had received it from the Lama's envoys. He wrote in despatches; 'I asked if they had any letter from the Dalai Lama to the Viceroy. They said they had not, that the scarf was sufficient according to their custom'.⁶⁰

This was outside the jurisdiction of a Secretary of State who oversaw a department famed for its noting and filing and so not without a hint of desperation Butler added, 'Please look up papers and see what was done in previous communications between the Dalai Lama or Tashi Lama and Viceroy. and note anything that we have about Tibetan etiquette'.⁶¹ Butler however also recognised that this gave the British government a little breathing space, for the officials who had delivered the *khatag* would not be granted their own audience with the Viceroy. As Butler noted, 'We should not enter into any written communication with the Dalai Lama about the relations between the Tibetans and Chinese until he first addresses us in writing'.⁶² The *khatag's* ability to validate a message, explained to Butler by the the Lama's envoy was thus ignored, for it suited the British at this moment to refrain from engaging not only with this material thing, but with the messages encoded into it.

The *khatag* would again be subjected to a near misappropriation of its meaning and attached expectations on the 12th of March, just two days before the Dalai Lama and Viceroy would meet at Hasting House. On this occasion Butler had turned to Bell, who was establishing himself as British India's Tibetan expert for advice. Bell advised Butler that the Viceroy; 'should rise and present a scarf to the Dalai Lama, who will rise to receive it'.⁶³ This at first seemed agreeable, but in a demi-official letter of the same day, Butler and A R Jelf (under-secretary to Butler), discussed the opinions of the Viceroy's Private Secretary regarding the matter of when and if the Viceroy should present the Dalai Lama with a *khatag*, for; 'in the case of the Tashi [Panchen] Lama the Viceroy gave no scarf. Mr Bell thinks a scarf should be given at the return visit. It should be given by Foreign Secretary to mark the rank of the Viceroy. They did not make much of the Dalai Lama at Peking and in such matters we should be careful of going too far'.⁶⁴ Pinhey removed as he was from Himalayan and specifically Tibetan knowledge systems clearly

⁶⁰ NAI, FD, Secret External, March 1910. Nos. 385-510 Part A.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ NAI, FD, Secret Internal, May 1910. Nos. 26-31 Part A.

⁶⁴ It must be noted that in 1905, when the British were courting the Panchen Lama, the Viceroy failed to offer the Lama a *khatag* when they met. This correction in British India eyes, would have been read very differently by the Panchen Lama who having not received a *khatag* would have gauged this in terms of sincerity, or lack of, in relation to the conversation he and the Viceroy were about to have that day.

did not view the Dalai Lama as the Viceroy's equal and what we are privy to here is the proposed transformation of the *khatag* from a thing of greeting into something else: a tool of British hierarchical designation, enabling rank and standing to be tacitly communicated to the Tibetans (just in case the significance of the nineteen gun salute as opposed to the Viceroy's forty-one gun salute was not enough).

This common, but nevertheless complex, offering was about to be unravelled by the British with new meanings specific to this diplomatic occasion woven into it. The British manipulation would no doubt have been successful. The Dalai Lama would have easily read the implied hierarchies, from his own *khatag* culture and no doubt the hesitations in the British government's quantifying of their relationship with the Lhasa government.⁶⁵ While these encoded messages were certainly the aim of the British, the decision not to present a scarf during the Viceroy's return call to the Dalai Lama at Hastings House would have been a diplomatic disaster. The *khatag*, as Bell has told us in the opening quote, was a signifier of sincerity, a marker of integrity. Pinhey might have viewed his assumptions as the correcting of incorrect behaviour, but this correction would have seen the standing of the British and their sincerity plummet in the eyes of the Tibetans.

However, it appears that something was simply lost in translation when trying to establish the *khatag*'s equivalent pre-contact or Mughal term. Pinhey it seems, had quantified the *khatag* as a *naẓr*, a tribute or gift of money, a tangible and significantly a financial thing. For the Viceroy to step forward in this way and present the Dalai Lama with a *naẓr*, well that would be understood as an exchange between equals and this would not be possible if the Viceroy's prestige was to be protected. Bell recognising this failure to discern was quick to step in persuading Jelf that the *khatag* was; 'an act of common courtesy which can hardly be omitted and in no way resembles a *naẓar*'.⁶⁶ And so due to Bell's intervention another piece of nomenclature was sought and finally the *khatag* was reconfigured and equated with the term, *mizaj pursi* (the wishing of health ceremony), which did not denote a material exchange nor imply a hierarchy that favoured the Tibetans and so it was deemed acceptable. Here we see the British, unaccustomed to the intangible messages the *khatag* contained, swayed by its materiality. Unable to read the scarf as a sign of something else – a sentiment – an offering of sincerity, they chose to read it solely as a tangible thing, a gift, loaded as it was with issues of reciprocity.

⁶⁵ I do not have time here to discuss the intricacies of Tibetan *khatag* giving, but I do discuss these gestures and the much wider manipulation of the *khatag* by the British and the Tibetans in a paper presented at the Association of Asian Studies annual conference, Philadelphia, March 2014, entitled, "Objects on the Edge: Negotiating material culture on the Anglo-Tibetan borderlands."

⁶⁶ NAI, FD, Secret Internal, May 1910. Nos. 26-31 Part A.

Here we see the imperfect beginnings of a culture of contact seen through the triple translation and near recoding of a Tibetan act of welcome. The British, desperate to maintain prestige, but at the same time to appear knowledgeable and civilized in their ability to perform correctly each new ceremonial they encountered took a wrong turn on this occasion. What we see in the understanding of the *khatag* is that even when presented with new practices the British, in order to make sense of it, needed to mould it into one of several pre-ordained ceremonial terms. The British desperately needed the Tibetans to fit the Indian mould, for without this structure the practice had the potential to become volatile and open to new meanings. This was something that the Political officer's new manual would not allow.

The Dalai Lama and King George V: Buckingham Palace, June 1913

When I and my Ministers stayed in British Territory, for nearly three years, we were provided with houses, a Police Officer, and a Police guard, a General Assistant, a doctor and food. These were signal honours which were shown to us. I and all my Tibetan subjects are filled with content. Therefore, my Ministers and the national assembly of Tibet, have discussed this matter, and have recorded it in a book, that this kindness may not be forgotten forever, and that the kindness may be returned. Therefore I am sending this, my man, purposely to submit thanks – Dalai Lama⁶⁷

On 28th June 1913, four Tibetan boys and their chaperones went to meet King George V (1865 – 1936),⁶⁸ bringing with them an extensive range of gifts and accompanying letters from the Dalai Lama. Taking place in London, away from the Himalaya and at the heart of the British government, we now see the British, rather than the British in India negotiate the gift. Here, we will witness a further movement by the British towards a contact culture, both in the types of objects given and in the messages they conveyed. Moreover, with the Dalai Lama now back in Lhasa we are able to see very clearly the many layers of significance he loaded onto the objects selected for the King of Great Britain and Emperor of India.

Less than six months after the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet, following his eighteen-months' exile in Darjeeling and Kalimpong, four Tibetan boys⁶⁹ and their chaperone Kusho Lungshar (1880-1938) arrived at Bell's Residency in February 1913 (figure. 4.2). This would not have been an unexpected or unwelcome development for Bell. 'While he was in Darjeeling [I], ... suggested to the Dalai Lama and to Shatra also, that they should send a few Tibetan boys to England for education, in order that on their return they might introduce such Western

⁶⁷ IOR/ L/PS/11/64 File P 3937. 12th July Letters from the Dalai Lama to the Chief Ministers.

⁶⁸ See Shakya, "Making of the Great Game Players," and Lamb, "Tom Browns from Central Asia," for good accounts of the events surrounding the four boys' and Kusho Lungshar's time in England.

⁶⁹ The four boys were, Kusho Möndo, Kusho Kyipup, Kusho Gongkar and Kusho Ringang.



FIGURE 4. 2
Kusho Lungshar (centre) and the four Tibetan boys
Gangtok Residency, February 1913
National Museums Liverpool 50.31.156

accomplishments as would be beneficial'.⁷⁰ For the British this overseas trip would be one of many steps along the road to developing a modernizing agenda for Tibet and one which Bell and the Dalai Lama had discussed during their Hillside conversations.

By early April 1913, the four boys, Lungshar and their British India escorts, Basil Gould (1883-1956) and Laden La (who was also accompanied by his son Sonam Tobgye) were on the P&O SS Arabia travelling from Bombay to Plymouth. Gould was returning to England on leave from his post as British Trade Agent, Gyantse and later, in 1936, as an experienced frontiers officer, Gould would become the Political Officer Sikkim and be present at the installation of the fourteenth Dalai Lama in 1940. Laden La, a man we are already well acquainted with would yet again prove to be invaluable in the translating of letters, gifts and practices.

This was not in fact the first time that the Dalai Lama had tried to meet George V. Having received the polite rebuff from Minto during their meeting in March 1910 the Dalai Lama had hoped to travel to England, while in exile, to discuss the position of Tibet directly with

⁷⁰ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 227.

the King in 1911.⁷¹ He had been so fixated on the idea that no amount of persuasion from Bell could change his mind and it finally took a letter from George V himself to put a stop to the Dalai Lama's plans. In no uncertain terms the King informed the Dalai Lama that he was; 'unable to interfere between him and his suzerain [China]'.⁷² Much had changed in the two years since that request, with the British now seeing the arrival of the four boys as a further chance to gain greater influence in Tibet at the expense of the Russians. However, the diplomatic concerns of 1911 had not gone away and neither it seems had the Dalai Lama's insistence on an audience with the King of England. Lungshar, the self-styled envoy of the Dalai Lama demanded to see George V on his arrival in England and to have the opportunity to present the King with the gifts and letters from the Dalai Lama. As Lamb rightly pointed out; 'The British would have liked to deny that Lungshar possessed any diplomatic status at all',⁷³ but not wanting to lose their new found influence over Tibet an audience was granted.

The Audience

The government memos and notices grew still in the days prior to the audience and surprisingly, the event itself went almost unrecorded. *The Times* in its court circular reported the meeting in its 30th June edition, but we rely on the account found in Laden La's personal diary to give us a sense of the exchange (figure 4.3).

At 10.30am entered Buckingham Palace in state with Mr Gould, Lungshar, The Tib[etan] boys and Sonam Tobgye. We went to the garden and saw the presenting of colours by the King to the Irish guards. Their Majesties the King and Queen received us in the drawing room both standing...As each was introduced he first offered a scarf and raised his hat...Lungshar with his head down expressed the messages of the D[alai].L[ama]... and I interpreted. After interview Mr Gould and myself went back to B[uckingham] Palace 3 times, I wrote the definitions of his [the Dalai Lama's] presents

Two groups of gifts were presented on the day, one to George V⁷⁴ and the second to Queen Mary.⁷⁵ A further three gifts were made to the 'Chief Minister of England (Lord Crewe) (Text Box 5), the 'Chief Minister for Foreign Affairs (Sir Edward Grey) (Text Box 5), and finally to the 'Lord High Commissioner for Education' (Text Box 5) (it was decided this gift would be split between Dunlop Smith and Louis Mallet (later Sir), as both men were responsible for overseeing aspects of the four boys' education) (Text Box 5). Alongside the gifts, a series of letters for the

⁷¹ When the Dalai Lama had pressed Minto for support of Tibetan independence he replied, 'that he was very glad to have the opportunity of entertaining His Holiness and of meeting him...', but he said that political questions of importance required due consideration and that he could not say more than that'. See Shakabpa, *A Political History*, 317.

⁷² See IOR L/P&S/7/2848, Under Secretary of State to the Dalai Lama, 14 Jan 1911

⁷³ Lamb, *ibid.*, 326.

⁷⁴ See Appendix 6, Text Box 4.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 6, Text Box 5.



FIGURE 4.3
Lungshar, the four boys, Sonam Tobgye and Basil Gould,
Buckingham Palace 28 June 1913
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King and Queen and the three ‘chief ministers’ were also presented.⁷⁶ These letters provide a very clear indication that it was hoped that this exchange could win over the British, creating an ally who would validate the declaration of independence the Dalai Lama had made in February 1913.⁷⁷

Objects of ‘Tibetanness’

One of our main political aims [was] showing that Tibet had its own art etc and that in some ways Tibet is more closely allied to India than to China.-Basil Gould⁷⁸

The content of the letters was bolstered by the gifts, which collectively acted as visual markers for Tibetan identity. I will argue that these gifts could be read as material evidence of Tibet’s distinct cultural heritage, its long history and of the Dalai Lama’s right to be recognised as the temporal ruler of Tibet. The gifts were a mix of the historically important and the finely made

⁷⁶ See Appendix 6, Text Box 6.

⁷⁷ Politically speaking the Dalai Lama was making advances to both British India and Russia at this time. Either British India or Russia would suffice. The main question was who would be most able to maintain Tibetan independence from China. The gifts to Russia presented in a similar way to Tsar Nicholas II early in 1913 make an excellent comparator and it is intended that a further study will be undertaken on these gift events.

⁷⁸ Quoted in McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, 209.

(the Rinpung saddle,⁷⁹ and suit of armour⁸⁰) and the contemporary, and what seem in some cases to be, the hastily assembled (a pair of teapots,⁸¹ and a set of eight auspicious symbols⁸²).

Religion

One of the gifts most visible packets of meaning came in the form of religion with a third of the objects having a specific religious context, emphasizing the distinctive path of Buddhism practiced in Tibet and the integral part it played within Tibetan culture and society. The seven *thangka*,⁸³ appear to have been created at around the time of the exchange and at first glance the subject matter chosen seems to be somewhat problematic. However, when grouped together they do convey a series of coherent messages, both religious and political, although at the time of writing it has proved difficult to ascertain if these seven *thangka* actually represent a Buddhist lineage.⁸⁴

Focusing on the subject matter of the seven *thangka* the spiritual role of the Dalai Lama is clearly articulated in this group. The first shows *Cittavisramana Avalokitesvara*, a manifestation of the Bodhisattva of Compassion seated on his lotus throne in a pure land filled with pavilions and other bodhisattvas. The fifth Dalai Lama is known to have strongly identified himself with this bodhisattva and as a result he set a precedent, which was followed by future Dalai Lamas, including the thirteenth that continued and strengthened this link.⁸⁵ This *thangka* then can be read as a sign of the legitimacy of the Dalai Lama to act as the spiritual leader of Tibet. Here he identifies himself as the reincarnation of *Cittavisramana Avalokitesvara* aligning himself to his great predecessors, including the fifth Dalai Lama and the seventh century Tibetan emperor Songtsen Gampo.

There are also references here to his monastic scholarship in the inclusion of a *thangka* that represents the Buddhist practices he was most concerned with at the time of the gift, particularly the *Kalachakra*, *Chakrasamvara*, and the Shambala texts within the *Kalachakra* practice.⁸⁶ The *thangka* of the King of Shambala could in this gift be interpreted in several ways (figure 4.4). Not only does it reflect the Dalai Lama's spiritual concerns, but this *thangka* could be read as a representation of Tibet itself. In this *thangka* we see the King, seated on a golden

⁷⁹ Now BM As 1979,Q.54

⁸⁰ Now BM 1880,725

⁸¹ Now V&A 1913.491 (RCIN 74480, 74481)

⁸² Now BM 1880,127.133

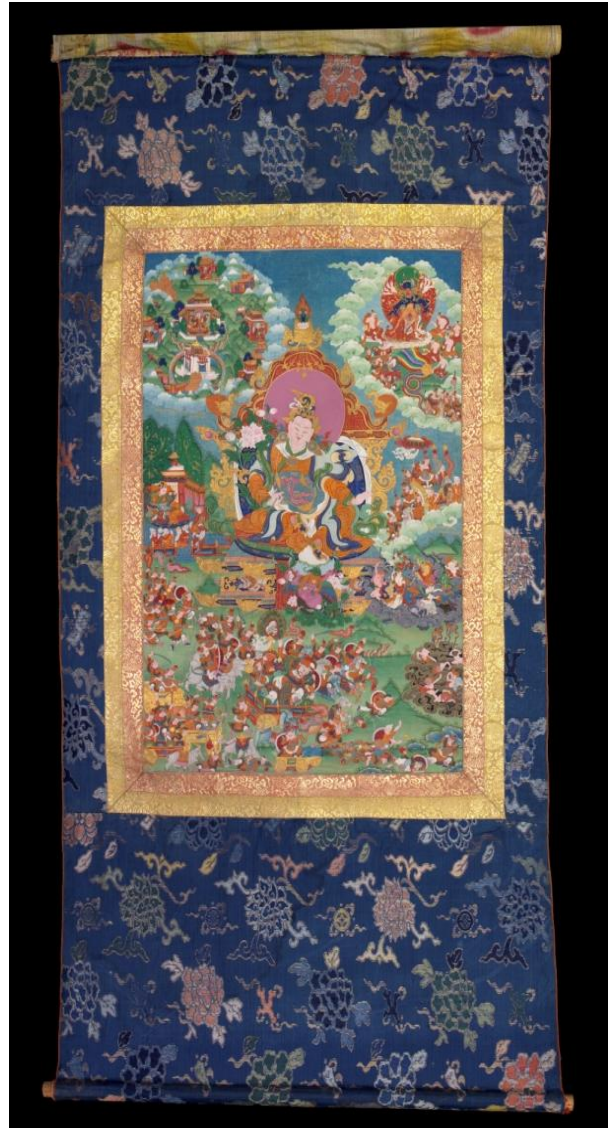
⁸³ Now V&A RCIN 74473 – 74479.

⁸⁴ John Clarke at the V&A is undertaking research on the *thangka* for a forthcoming publication of the museum's Himalayan collections.

⁸⁵ Ishihama, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara," 546.

⁸⁶ Tokan, *The Thirteenth Dalai Lama*, 39.

FIGURE 4.4
 King of Shambala *thangka*
 Lhasa, early 20th century
 V&A Royal Loan 1913 RCIN unknown
 Courtesy of Royal Collections / Victoria and Albert
 Museum, London
 © HM Queen Elizabeth II 2014



throne, in Shambala, a land to the North of the Himalaya. This was said to be home to a place where the monastic community preserved the Indian Buddhist teachings and in the foreground of this *thangka* we can see the King's army overpowering non-believers. By including this *thangka* the Dalai Lama chose to present the Indian teachings, those seen as the pure teachings, as being at the core of Tibetan tantric practice. The allegiance to India, shown here in its spiritual form was also something that both the Dalai Lama, and the British India officers, wished to promote politically,⁸⁷ and in creating those historical links between Tibet and India it further validated the imagining of Tibet as a culture and a nation distinct and separate from China.

If further proof was needed to demonstrate the Dalai Lama's political legitimacy this was to be found in the third *thangka* in this group, one that represented the seventh Dalai Lama, Kalsang Gyatso (1708-1757). By including the seventh Dalai Lama, the Dalai Lama used historical precedent to authenticate his claim to temporal leadership, for like the thirteenth, the

⁸⁷ Lamb, *Tibet, China & India 1914-1950*, 108.

seventh Dalai Lama had lived in exile, and although primarily a spiritual man, he had been forced to take the political reins to ensure Tibet regained independence from the Mongols and remained independent from the Qing in China.⁸⁸ The historian Matthew Kapstein describes the career of the seventh Dalai Lama as being; ‘played out in the crosscurrents between imperial faith and power’⁸⁹ and there is an argument to be made that the Dalai Lama would have felt that his own rule over Tibet was taking a similar path.

History, Traditions and Geography

The legitimising of Tibetan history and traditions also materialised in the suit of armour and the Rinlung saddle (figure 4.5).⁹⁰ For Tibetans, arms and armour appeared regularly in important gift exchanges with, for example, the Tang annals listing gifts of Tibetan iron armour, both for men and horses,⁹¹ most likely of the kind we see given here. Now given in the twentieth century to the British, armour were often accompanied by commentaries that highlighted the traditional skills used in the making of the armour and their historical importance in recording a turbulent part of Tibetan history that had now passed.⁹² But in the giving of this suit of armour the Dalai Lama added a further dimension to the armour’s importance. In Laden La’s translated description we learn that; ‘This kind of armour is no longer made, but it is occasionally worn at national festivals’.⁹³ National dress tangibly connected Tibet to its history as a Buddhist nation, to its (royal) creation stories and to the development of its major festivals and traditions. As an object now worn specifically when Tibetan identity was celebrated the suit of armour had become what Anderson describes as an, ‘emblem of nation-ness’,⁹⁴ the armour transposed its original use, beginning a new association with festivals, thus ensuring its status as a further symbol of Tibetanness.⁹⁵

But most of all the prestigious nature of the saddle and accompanying trappings would have been hard for the British not to know, for it was signposted by the Dalai Lama in the

⁸⁸ See, Berger, “Reincarnation in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” for her reference to Polhanay’s politically assertive gift of the Arya Lokeshvara image from the Potala to the Qing Emperor that legitimized his role in the Tibetan administration and showed favour to the idea of a ruling Panchen Lama over that of the seventh Dalai Lama.

⁸⁹ Kapstein, “The Seventh Dalai Lama Kalsang Gyatso,” 108.

⁹⁰ The suit of armour and helmet is described in technical detail in LaRocca, *Himalayan Warriors*, 58. Although at the time of writing LaRocca was not able to verify that this was part of the Dalai Lama’s gift, he did note that the suit and accompanying helmet was of very good quality dating to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

⁹¹ Heller, “Archaeological Artefacts from the Tibetan Empire in Central Asia,” 57.

⁹² See for example the armour for man and horse given by the Dalai Lama to Charles Bell in 1910 quoted in LaRocca, *ibid.*, 97. *List of Curios* No. 99, now V&A IM 30 1933.

⁹³ In email from Wolf Burchard, “Tibetan Gifts from 1913” on 28th July 2009.

⁹⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 133.

⁹⁵ The contemporary woman’s costume from Lhasa would surely have strengthened this argument if it had been located.

lengthy description provided in the letter to George V which described the saddle's previous owner as:

“Rimpung Gyalpo”, a King who reigned at Rimpung 500 years ago. On this saddle the first Dalai Lama is said to have ridden into Lhasa. His immediate successors did so also, and for the last 200 years the saddle has been kept in the Potala at Lhasa as a national relic⁹⁶

The importance of gifting saddles and horses has already been discussed, but Heller in her study of artefacts from Tibetan Empire tombs (seventh-ninth century) illustrates the importance and presence of such gifts in other contexts. She discusses a number of horse motifs and a fine individual saddle, thought to be from a Tibetan statesman's tomb, found in archaeological excavations. Heller succinctly tells us that these; ‘artefacts reflect the importance accorded to horses, an indication of the Tibetan predisposition to nomadic life, their military usefulness and the major economic impact of the Tibetan horse trade’.⁹⁷ Laden La recognized the messages that the British were expected to read into the gift of this saddle and Gould advised the India Office that; ‘The [return] present will be especially esteemed if they are antique, or have some sort of symbolic meaning, besides their intrinsic value’.⁹⁸

The Rimpung saddle did indeed weigh heavy with symbolism. It referenced Tibet's history, its past military might and the rise in supremacy of the *Geluk* school of Buddhism (which the Dalai Lama was and is the spiritual leader of). Rimpung was a seat of learning and power in Shigatse from around 1435 with support from the *Karma* sub-school of the Buddhist *Kagyu* lineage. They seized control of the area from the Nedong in 1481 and from their base in Rimpung ruled over parts of southern Tibet until 1517.⁹⁹ During their rule over Lhasa the *Gelukpa* of the Sera and the Drepung monasteries were forbidden to attend the *Mönlam Chenmo* or great prayer festival in Lhasa. While the Rimpung forces withdrew from Lhasa in 1517, they retained their dominance in parts of Tsang ensuring the conspiracies and fighting, fuelled by ministers for the respective schools, continued until 1559. It was then that the third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso (1543-1588) was asked to intervene, his intervention activating the eventual rise to power of the *Gelukpa* over the *Kagyupa*.¹⁰⁰ In the giving of this saddle the Dalai Lama was not only visualising the independence of the Tibetan people, but also the long history and legitimacy of the Dalai Lama lineage. Here reflecting upon the role played by the third Dalai Lama in beginning the process of uniting central Tibet and in the continuing unifying role the Dalai Lama also performed. This was a singular opportunity to remind the British of the supremacy of the

⁹⁶ Translated by Laden La, quoted in Rhodes and Rhodes, *ibid.*, 29.

⁹⁷ Heller, *ibid.*, 55.

⁹⁸ IOR L/PS/11/64 File P 3937 Gould 2 July 1913.

⁹⁹ Rahul, *The Government and Politics of Tibet*, 2 and Shakabpa, *A Political History of Tibet*, 86.

¹⁰⁰ Shakabpa, *ibid.*, 92 and Richardson, “Tibetan Precipice,” 425.



FIGURE 4.5
Saddle and trappings
Ringpung reign, 16th century
Eastern Tibet or China
British Museum Royal Loan 1974.Q54.a-d
Courtesy of Royal Collections / The British Museum, London
© HM Queen Elizabeth II 2014

Gelukpa, showing their dominance in Tibetan politics and religious affairs, while highlighting the unique position their head, the Dalai Lama held and how he alone had the ability and the reach to maintain power over the Tibetan people. This was no doubt a prestige gift, but it was more pointedly a politically nuanced one.

The British Gift and an Icon of Contact Culture

Gould was instructed on the 30th June by Dunlop Smith to ‘make an estimate of the value of the presents’.¹⁰¹ It appears that Gould had already made a preliminary financial valuing of the gifts, probably when Laden La was cataloguing them. As a useful comparator Gould would also attend an auction that included a collection of ‘Tibetan Curios’ once owned by Paul, who had died in August 1912. The auction seemed to confirm Gould’s valuation of the Dalai Lama’s gifts and he

¹⁰¹ IOR L/PS/11/64 File P 3937 30 June 1913.

presented on the 2nd July, a breakdown of values for each of the gifts to King George and Queen Mary, which totalled £1003 (see Appendix 6, Text Box 4). Gould was evidently not comfortable with this particular valuing regime. Instead he wanted their close association to the Dalai Lama taken into account, so in writing to Dunlop Smith he; ‘suggested that the presents would perhaps sell for £1000 in ordinary circumstances, but that this estimate might perhaps be doubled in view of the sentimental and historical interest of the gifts’.¹⁰² Despite his sensitivity there was little alternative for articulating these layers of value within the confines of Whitehall, so Gould inevitably put a price on the Dalai Lama’s associations with these objects and suggested the doubling of the financial valuation.

In that same letter Gould also attached a tentative list of return gifts (see Appendix 6, Text Box 7) that he felt would; ‘fully satisfy, and greatly please, His Holiness’. But he added, ‘I have, of course, only been able to suggest such things as might be purchased by an ordinary individual’. Gould was clearly conscious that while the gift to be returned would monetarily be viewed by the British as far more prestigious than that of the Dalai Lama’s, he also knew it would not have the same values attached to it, particularly as George V had not been involved in its selection.

Nevertheless, the objects Gould selected for the return gift show just how far Anglo-Tibetan contact culture had developed. Gould used a similar encoded language of signifiers and symbols to that used by the Dalai Lama. Here distinctive products of the regions including, Scottish plaid and Irish linen were given in response to the Tibetan woman’s outfit given to Queen Mary. For the Tibetan arms and armour, items of modern warfare, the ejector guns (inlaid with silver no less) were presented representing England’s military might. Yet, the iconic production of this exchange is without doubt, what can only be described as a shrine to Englishness. A gift that Gould had curated and then designed and which would be made by the King’s jeweller, Garrards.¹⁰³ Gould had asked that items 1-9 (see Text Box 7) should be, ‘mounted in one case, in the form of a triptych’.¹⁰⁴ This instruction is enticing, but it is not until the return gift list is published in full on the 14th October 1913, in *The Times*, that we find more details of this travelling shrine.

teak-wood case lined with white velvet, specially constructed to be impervious to climatic conditions. When opened the case exhibits in the centre a gold rice cup and cover and a plate, surrounded by two flower vases and two photographs of the King and Queen, guarded on either side by a richly chased gold model of a Trafalgar lion mounted on a white marble

¹⁰² IOR L/PS/11/64 File P 3937 2 July 1913.

¹⁰³ Unfortunately, parts of the Garrard archive has been misplaced following several relocations and the records pertaining to this commission have not been located.

¹⁰⁴ IOR L/PS/11 File P 3937 30 July 1913

pedestal. The cup and cover, a copy of work of Charles II. period, is richly chased with acanthus leaves

The objects within this triptych appear from the description to have been chosen and then positioned so that the Dalai Lama would recognise and interpret the encoded messages. We see a framed portrait instead of a *thangka*, the Charles II reinterpretation of the cup and cover, the gold vessels in place of ritual implements. The Trafalgar lions are clearly an acknowledgment of the protective power of the Buddhist lion dog or *seng ge* that are ubiquitous guardians of Buddhist shrines and sacred spaces. Surely the Dalai Lama was not expected to treat this as an altar that should be offered to? Although we only have the description to guide us, the triptych appears to have been a well-considered piece of cultural mimesis or mimicry on the part of Gould, which could only have been made possible with the aid of a man who had the knowledge to create such a message, Laden La.

Etiquette and Laden La's Influence

As Gould negotiated the British government's own practices, he referred to a complex system of Tibetan gift protocol that if embedded into the British gift would enhance its auspicious nature. Gould had only been in the Gyantse post for around a year before being sent to England with the Tibetan delegation and it is highly unlikely that he would have mastered this complex grammar in such a short space of time. The actions that Gould suggests; the number of gifts he recommends, and the size of the groups to be offered, was undoubtedly the work of Laden La. On presenting the list of return presents to Dunlop-Smith Gould rationalizes the number of gifts he has selected.

It would be convenient if there were either fifteen or twenty-one presents, or groups of presents, since an additional compliment would be implied, their being fifteen virtues or kindnesses, according to the Buddhist doctrine, and twenty-one manifestations of the Goddess Tara, the chief patron goddess of the Tibetans¹⁰⁵

These 'additional compliments' although opaque to the British government would have been obvious to the Dalai Lama and as with Bell's use of knowing gestures, these actions would have allowed experienced officers like Laden La to maintain and enhance Tibetan perceptions that Britain and by extension British India was a knower.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 July 1913.

The Carriage and its Consequences

Although some aspects of Tibetan etiquette were melded into the British gift there was also materially a strong British presence. The most notable coming in the decision (approved by Gould and Laden La) to present a horse and carriage as the British prestige item; given in response to the Rinpung saddle. British India officers thought through every detail of this aspect of the gift, with Gould suggesting that the carriage should be painted in a particular shade of yellow, used by the Dalai Lama for his palanquin, to ensure he could use it in Lhasa.¹⁰⁶ Then, Bell (back in Sikkim) modified the coach builders designs to ensure the Dalai Lama's seat was higher than the others and would face in the appropriate direction.¹⁰⁷

Unfortunately, despite this attention to detail, it would be impossible for the Dalai Lama to read this encoded gift, for the consequences of sending a wheeled vehicle to a country without a system of roads had just not been considered. The Tibetan reception for the return gift is mentioned in passing by Lamb, but he notes; 'What the Dalai Lama thought of this assemblage is not recorded'.¹⁰⁸ However, we do get a glimpse of the gift travelling back to Tibet courtesy of Gould who escorts it to Gyantse. 'At every stage of the journey from Sikkim to Lhasa the gifts were received with royal honours, as if they had been the person of the King'.¹⁰⁹ Gould seems to be reimagining the significance of this gift through Mughal-driven associations to the *khal'at's* links to the emperor, but did the Tibetans really understand the return gift in this way? Token, the Japanese Buddhist practitioner who was in Lhasa from 1913-23 and who witnessed the arrival of the specially commissioned carriage and horses thought otherwise.

The coaches were sent to him [Dalai Lama] in pieces across the Himalayan range. These pieces were reassembled in Lhasa, but there was no suitable road to drive them in Lhasa, so that the Dalai Lama could not utilize the gifts from the king. Therefore, he wished to have the horses put to practical use, and had one of the attendants ride on one of them. The horse got frightened, and the rider fell from the horse and suffered fatal injuries. Small wonder, too, because the horses had been trained as coach horses and not for riding. However, the Dalai Lama took all this in a Tibetan way, and attributing the confusion to British lack of sincerity, never gave another thought to the expensive gift¹¹⁰

Despite Gould's and Laden La's best intentions to present the gifts with both British and Tibetan gifting messages, the fact that the emphasis remained firmly on British ceremonial procedures made sure the reality was that the return gift was diplomatically unfortunate at best. Considered by the Dalai Lama as lacking sincerity and thought, its effects briefly undermined the

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ NAI, FD, General, November 1914. Nos.88-113 Part A.

¹⁰⁸ Lamb, "Tom Browns from Central Asia," 326.

¹⁰⁹ Gould, *ibid.*, 31.

¹¹⁰ Token, *ibid.*, 71.

work of Bell to bring Tibet under British India's influence. While an icon of Anglo-Tibetan contact culture materialised in London, the expectations of both parties were still mismatched.

Tibet and the British: Simla 1913-14

Through the kind help rendered by the British Government for the welfare of Tibet a conference has now been arranged to be held at Darjeeling among the three delegates of Great Britain, Tibet and China in connection with the rupture between China and Tibet. In this connection the ruling Minister Sha-tra leaves here as the delegate for Tibet.- Dalai Lama¹¹¹

Sometime before March 1914 Sir Henry and Lady McMahon received a gift from the Dalai Lama that would rival anything previously seen during the Anglo-Tibetan encounter.¹¹² It would rival those fabled gifts of the Ming and Qing Dynasty and most certainly made the gift to George V given less than twelve months before seem like a very poor relation. While McMahon will forever remain connected to Tibet, through the 'McMahon Line' and his role as plenipotentiary for British India during the Simla Convention of 1913-14, his presence in Tibetan gift exchanges has until now been overlooked. There is good reason for this, which will become clear as the gift events surrounding the Simla conference unfold.

With the opening of the Simla conference in October 1913 (figure 4.6), gifting between British India and Tibet reached its zenith.¹¹³ This was undoubtedly the most intense period of Anglo-Tibetan gifting during the period we are concerned with. Its intensity was in reality a signifier of the edgy political situation the two powers now found themselves in and there was a great deal at stake here. For Tibet this was the moment when their future independence from China could be guaranteed. This was the moment above all others that their gifts had to lay the 'foundation of the road of harmony'. The British on the other hand, knew that their international diplomatic credibility was in the balance, they needed to retain Tibet as a 'buffer state' to keep China and Russia at bay. In tandem with this they didn't want to lose their new found influence over Tibet to China. The Younghusband expedition, the Dalai Lama's exile in British India, the schooling of the four Tibetan boys in England and their meeting with George V had all led to this moment. The relationship between Tibet and British India had changed beyond all recognition in the fifteen years since Lord Curzon had his letters sent back to him unopened.

¹¹¹ NAI, FD, External, November 1913. Nos.283-286. Part B. Letter from Dalai Lama to Viceroy, written 24th July 1913.

¹¹² See Appendix 6, Text Box 8 and 9.

¹¹³ See Chapter 3 for the satellite gifting that surrounded the Simla conference See Lamb, *The McMahon Line* for a full and detailed account of the Simla Conference. Details of the conference can also be found in McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, Shakabpa, *A Political History of Tibet*, Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet: Vol I* and Dhondup, *The Water-Bird and Other Years*.



FIGURE 4.6

British, Tibetan and Chinese delegations at the Simla Conference.

McMahon sits front row centre, to his actual right is Ivan Chen, to his actual left is Shatra. Bell (actual left) and Rose (actual right) stand behind. Achuk Tsering stands five from the left.

Courtesy of Jamyang Norbu

This sea-change had much to do with the personal contact between Bell, the Dalai Lama and members of the Lhasa government and Bell would again be a key advisor for British India at this conference. This time however the Dalai Lama would remain in Lhasa and instead it would be his Chief Minister or Lönchen Shatra who would present the Tibetan gifts and who would work with Bell and the British contingent.

Simla Ceremonials

Back on Indian soil, the British had a number of previous ceremonials that they chose to remould in order to construct this visit by the Tibetan Lönchen and his entourage.¹¹⁴ While these meetings were becoming much easier for the British to negotiate there was now the added complication of the Chinese delegation which also needed tending to and particularly the plenipotentiary Mr Ivan Chen (Ifan Chen). There was to be no rocking of the diplomatic boat at

¹¹⁴ Several previous ceremonials are used including, Tang Shoa-yi's reception in Calcutta in 1905, NAI, FD, External A, April 1905. No. 1 and the Tibetan and Chinese negotiations of 1907, NAI, FD, Secret External, November 1907. Nos. 177-193.

such a critical juncture. The question of ceremonials and honours would be dealt with at the highest level with the Viceroy himself (Lord Hardinge, served 1910-16) and Sir John Jordan (Envoy to China served 1906-20) deciding what should and shouldn't be done. In the end it was a simple, pragmatic decision,

In order to avoid awkward questions arising out of present unrecognized and undefined status of Tibet and China, respectively, I suggest that neither of the delegates should be accorded special official honours, but that they should be given the treatment usually extended to distinguished foreign visitors and honoured *pari passu* with each other¹¹⁵

No doubt this was met with a collective sigh of relief by all the officers concerned. It was decided that there would be no gun salutes, no marching bands and no state receptions.

While there would be no official additional compliments for Shatra - a man who Bell was starting to consider a good friend - this would not stop Bell from trying to arrange as many personal details as he possibly could. Having asked for and gained approval from the Secretary of State, Bell made arrangements for the Tibetans in August 1913 by finding a house for them to stay in for the duration of the conference, a common and accepted part of the Tibetan courtesies extended to a visitor. But this was not just about hospitality and generosity, for in making his case to the Foreign Office, Bell felt;

the Tibetans will feel very grateful not only for saving them the expense but also for saving them the trouble of making such arrangements in a country, where both the language and the people are strange to them. If any of our officials ever go to Lhasa, they would as a matter of course provide them with free accommodation.¹¹⁶

Bell may well have had his own still elusive trip to Lhasa on his mind at that moment, but he was also thinking of his political duties. 'We can lodge some of our own people in the same house. These will thus be able to keep an obtrusive watch over the Tibetan officials' and that they, 'will be less exposed to Chinese intrigues'.¹¹⁷

Fortunately for the British the Tibetan delegation arrived in Simla several days before the Chinese deputation and so the question of who would be introduced first to McMahon and to the Viceroy didn't call for consideration. A 'T.W.' (unidentified Foreign Office official), thought; 'It would perhaps be a good thing to get this over before Mr. Ivan Chen arrives'. Ever faithful to Butler's plea to record every detail of unusual meetings Bell gave his usual precise picture of the beautifully choreographed, if brief, meetings that took place between Shatra and McMahon on the 25th September 1913 and a much reconfigured meeting at Viceregal Lodge five days later.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ See NAI Secret External, April 1914 Nos. 46-55. Jordan to Hardinge 13 September 1913.

¹¹⁶ NAI, FD, Notes Internal, December 1913. Nos. 77-83.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ NAI, FD, Secret External, April 1914. No. 46-55.

The Missing Gifts

While the ceremonials are described by Bell in exquisite detail something is conspicuous in its absence. Amongst all the detail there is no gifting. Despite Bell's precise and detailed accounts of the two meetings there is not a single mention. The gifts did indeed exist for they arrived with their accompanying letters from the Dalai Lama to Sir and Lady Hardinge and were recorded by Bell on the 4th October and then again on the 15th October when the second part of the Viceroy's gift arrived.¹¹⁹ Just two weeks after Shatra and the Viceroy's meeting on the 30th September, both parts of the gift have already been dealt with by the *tosha khana*, while the equally impressive gift list for the McMahons, received around the 8th October, appeared in the *tosha khana* at the beginning of March 1914.¹²⁰ The exchanges clearly happened with the gift lists providing material evidence of that, so why are we encountering an archival silence here?

It is almost inconceivable to imagine an occasion when a Tibetan man of Shatra's standing would call on a foreign dignitary and not present gifts. There could of course have been a delay in the gifts arriving from Lhasa, but if this was the case an inventory of the gifts to be given would have been presented in its place, to assure the receiver of the sincerity of the visitor and to ensure that the meeting was suitably auspicious.¹²¹ This was something Bell learned very quickly and commented on in his later publications. 'Even when sending a letter, you cannot simply put it into an envelope and dispatch it. You must enclose something with it, for to send a thing empty is to send bad luck'.¹²²

If a delay seemed unlikely then there was another potential reason for why the gifts could have been separated from the recording of the ceremonials this time. The calls for the British to remain disinterested in their dealings with foreign dignitaries was easier said than done for men like Bell, who felt genuine friendship for many of the Tibetan men he worked with. Following the conference it was suggested internally that both McMahon and Bell had throughout the conference shown favouritism to the cause of the Tibetans (which we can see in Chapter 3). If the Chinese delegation had sensed this, it would have put the conference in severe jeopardy. The ceremonials recorded for Chen were identical to Shatra's, but while there are the additional files that give an insight into the Tibetan gifts there are no such files for the Chinese delegation. Did

¹¹⁹ NAI, FD, External, November 1913. Nos. 283-286. Part B.

¹²⁰ The Dalai Lama's letter to McMahon of 24 July 1913 also states that he sends, 'a silk scarf, a flower vase of green jade with leaves and twigs worked upon it, a leopard skin and an iron pen case studded with gold', NAI, External, November 1914 Nos. 283-286 Part B, but there is no separate record kept of these gifts and it is unclear what happened to them.

¹²¹ Bell found himself in just this position in 1920 when he arrived in Lhasa and went to make his first call on the Dalai Lama, see Chapter 1.

¹²² Bell, *The People of Tibet*, 248.

the Chinese decide not to bring gifts, could that be possible? If the Chinese did bring gifts, they went unrecorded in the archive at every level. What could the reasoning be for that? If the gift-giving was deemed to be unequal in some way the British may have chosen to silence the act of gifting in order to avoid claims that one party had been favoured over the other. There is no way of knowing from these files what the Chinese chose to give, but if one party did outshine the other it could have caused a low-level diplomatic dispute that those overseeing the conference would have wanted to avoid at any cost.

The Dispersal

Whatever the reason for the late recording of the gifts, Bell dispatched the gifts and letters to Hardinge via the Foreign Office (See Appendix 6, Text Box 10 and 11). Despite the size and extent of McMahon's gift he paid no attention to it, sending it straight on to the Viceroy at Viceregal Lodge. This was standard etiquette in such an hierarchical institution. In the eyes of the Dalai Lama and Shatra, McMahon would have been the most important British figure associated with this encounter. Therefore he received the largest gift (in quantity, although the British valued the Viceroy's gift as financially much higher), but it would have been impudent not to give the Viceroy first choice (see Chapter 5). From the few gift exchange memos and files that feature Hardinge, we learn that he was in fact a collector of Chinese jades and so of the first gifts he received from Shatra and the Dalai Lama, he claimed the jade pot with lid, and a nine deity mandala of Amitayus (numbers two and three in Text Box 10). Then on the 15th October Hardinge's primary gift from the Dalai Lama, presented by Shatra, arrived (see Text Box 10), which in many ways mirrored the gift received by McMahon. The enormity of these two gifts and the letters that accompanied them clearly show just how much was expected from the British by the Tibetans. Significant returns were expected from these huge gifts. However, despite the Dalai Lama's position on Tibetan independence and the borders of eastern Tibet being made absolutely clear, there was no comment made on the content of the gift's accompanying letters (see Text Box 11 for the translations of the letters made by Achuk Tsering).

Hardinge yet again kept several items from this second gift, but what of McMahon's gift?¹²³ Staggeringly, nothing was kept; every single item was deposited into the *tosha khana*. From what can be determined not a trace of the collection or its provenance remains today. This may well have been both a personal and a diplomatic decision. Whether the Chinese brought gifts to the table or not, McMahon as the conference mediator, knew that he could not accept a gift from

¹²³ We will return to this gift again in Chapter 5 when we look at the *tosha khana* and the hierarchies of gift dispersal in British India.

either side.¹²⁴ As will be seen in the case of White (see Chapter 5) a gift so clearly attached to a judicial or diplomatic case could not be countenanced, to accept it would be to accept the terms of the giver's letters. For McMahon to accept the gift would be tantamount to accepting the Dalai Lama's demands for independence and control over disputed Tibetan-Chinese borders. In the current political climate, that was just not possible.

Guns: The Ideal Gift for a Contact Culture?

Despite the increasing British portrayal of Tibetans during this period as a peaceful and spiritual people, the two neighbours were very often discussing guns. For the Tibetan lay officials of the early twentieth century the acquisition and supply of guns became a full-time pre-occupation (see Chapter 3).¹²⁵ For the British Political Officers in Sikkim, those who came before Bell and for those who came after, there was always a memo ready to be fired off to the Foreign Office, requesting arms and ammunition for Tibet.¹²⁶

While their government was reticent, the officers based in the borderlands knew that in order for Tibet to maintain its identity, and to continue providing a buffer state for British India, there must be support in real terms from the British for Tibet's burgeoning army in Lhasa and its fighters in eastern Tibet who were increasingly being drawn into armed campaigns against the Chinese. If the British couldn't provide that support, officers like Bell knew that their influence in Tibet would wane, when interested countries like Japan and Mongolia (and by extension Russia) stepped in with supplies of pistols, machine guns and most importantly ammunition.

Despite the exhausting and tense atmosphere that the Simla conference mustered, the requests for guns continued. Several months into the conference, Shatra and Bell were working closely together, but it was a difficult period for the plenipotentiaries and their advisors, the eastern borders of Tibet were proving difficult for all parties to agree upon and the weather was warming up significantly, making the whole atmosphere doubly uncomfortable for the Tibetans.

¹²⁴ Bell did keep some of his gifts, including a beautiful brocade silk ministerial robe, that goes unrecorded in *The List of Curios*, but can be found in the Liverpool collection, NML 53.43.1, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=53.43.1&coll=1&page=1&themeId=9>

¹²⁵ Bell notes, 'By a layman nothing was so much appreciated as a rifle or revolver, but I did not often give these. Our Government felt that we had not yet established our friendship with the Tibetans on a sufficiently firm basis'. Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 126.

¹²⁶ Bell requested gun allowances on several occasions, but particularly in 1915 following his meeting with Tsarong and again in 1921, 'It would seem desirable that, as the Tibetan Government is in real need of arms and ammunition, they should obtain these from us rather than from a Japanese source, for we shall thus exercise some measure of control over the military strength of the country. Otherwise we shall be faced with a growing Japanese influence in Tibet'. IOR/Eur Mss F80/174.

In a meeting with Bell on the 2nd March 1914, despite all these problems, Shatra had guns on his mind and he confided in Bell that his country was desperately low on ammunition.¹²⁷

Bell felt his hands tied. 'I said the question was one of great difficulty, especially while the negotiations were in progress, but that I would use every effort to persuade Sir H. to let them have arms etc. when the conference was over and if the Treaty was satisfactory'.¹²⁸ Bell was true to his word and despite the conference grinding to a halt in July of that year, Shatra, with pressure and support from Bell, did receive licenses from the British India government to buy and transport quite a cache of arms and ammunition back to Tibet for, 'self defence for myself' and, 'for the wonder that the new and wonderful mechanism of these guns would excite in Tibet'.¹²⁹ We should not consider it a coincidence that a little over two weeks after their meeting on the 19th March Bell proposed a list of return presents for Shatra. It seems that Bell had not made a tally of the Tibetan gifts relating to Simla since the first receipt of the gifts in early October. Having finally valued all the presents given to himself and Cashie, to the Hardinges and to the McMahons the value given to the Tibetan gifts was Rs.9,600/-, a considerable amount of money for Bell to spend in return.

Unsurprisingly, amongst the pieces of gold plate, the return gift list included a considerable number of guns and the all important ammunition that Shatra was so concerned to have.

(a) From Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge-

Some articles of gold plate	Rs.2800/-
8 Ross rifles (.280 bore)	Rs.1440/-
4000 cartridges	Rs.1000/-
8 rifle slings	Rs.48/-

	Rs.5288/-

(b) From yourself and Lady McMahon-

1 state saddle.	
Ross rifles (.280 bore), rifle strings and cartridges at rate of 500 cartridges per rifle to make total present up to about	Rs.3000/-

(c) From Mrs Bell and myself-

6 .315 bore carbines	Rs.600/-
3000 cartridges	Rs.600/-
1 Mauser pistol	Rs.90/-
300 cartridges	Rs.21/-

	Rs.1311/- ¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Bell, *Tibet Notebook II*, unpaginated.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ NAI, FD, General, Aug 1914. Nos. 25-34.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Of all the gifts encountered during this period this gift of guns represents more than any other the contact culture that had developed between the two parties. It signified the new encoding of material culture that had emerged from British India's and Tibet's sustained negotiations in a number of contact zones. Bell had reworked this gift substantially, for now it was more than just a state gift exchange, it had become a statement of Bell's intent and integrity. This was a clear message to his friend Shatra that despite all that was happening around them on a governmental or nation state level, on a personal level Bell would support the Tibetan demand for guns. He would continue to do what he could to apply pressure to the British Indian government in order that the Tibetans could protect their country.¹³¹ Bell so often engaged in individual gifting was now pushing against the impersonal need for diplomacy and commerce that typified the material contact of the nation state; instead he had decided to move towards an exchange that reflected personal connections.

Thomas describes the gun as a 'colonial object', an object either, 'offered or imposed',¹³² and while these guns had been offered and readily accepted, the Tibetan need for military capabilities was very much imposed on them following the invasion of Tibet by the Younghusband-led forces in 1904. The British had created this demand, which they were now reluctant to meet. Despite Bell's intentions this gift of guns was a fraction of what the Tibetans needed to develop a credible arsenal for Tibet. Bell wanted to give Shatra hope that British support would eventually be forthcoming, but as the British Indian government continually found excuses not to supply arms and ammunition wholesale, this gift shows us the fault lines, the unequal nature of a contact culture in the colonial context.

Wrapping up the Gift

Anglo-Tibetan gifting was both elusive and knowable. It featured many common material markers that cut across both Tibetan and British Indian understanding, but with cultural intentions that differed dramatically. The material evidence of these encounters highlights a constant reworking of expectations, with increasingly more or new types of objects incorporated into the gifting act on each occasion. There were successes and failures on both sides, but through these encounters we have seen that gifts visualised a culture of contact that emerged

¹³¹ Although there is not space to elaborate here the gift of guns can also be read within the wider civilising/modernising agenda that the British were promoting to the Tibetan government and the Dalai Lama. The gifting of guns, scientific instruments, electricity, telegraph lines, Encyclopaedia Britannica, could all be read as British corrective behaviour.

¹³² Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*, 60.

during this short period. Here we see gifts, especially those given by the British that could not be imagined in any other context.

These exchanges operated in contested colonial spaces, where the very act of gifting caused numerous political tensions and ramifications, some of which were long-lasting. This was a space where every gesture, every object implied multiple meanings that could be read through the giver's and receiver's own cultural frame of reference. The encounters we have witnessed here happened in moments of crisis or during acute political pressure for Tibet, and operating in these volatile spaces we see the British scurrying to make sense of how they should manage and control these unplanned moments of contact. What this chapter has also shown is that the gift, its grammar, its intentions and its agency had a diplomatic potency. This is a property that has largely been silenced in the readings of Tibet and its material culture and one which I hope is now obvious and relevant once again.



The *tosha khana* and a *List of Curios*

Colonial Cataloguing and the Archives of Collecting

The territorialization of Tibet would require...an archival superman who would not self-destruct...the imperial archive's man for all seasons. -Thomas Richards¹

Richards in his reading of Kipling's *Kim* introduces us here to Colonel Creighton. While Creighton may have been a work of fiction, the necessity to create archival supermen for the British India government was very real. British India's frontier cadre may have differed in their outlooks, abilities and methods, but the one phenomenon that bound these men together was their note-taking.² Note-taking for the British India government at the turn of the twentieth century; 'overwhelmed opposition by sheer force of argument'.³ The effect of those endless reports, memoranda, demi-official letters, and cross referenced filing systems maintain their overwhelming force today, as any scholar who has attempted to make sense of or interrogate colonial archives will vouch for.⁴

The physicality of those walls of words brought some sense of reassurance to the colonial officers who; 'were painfully aware of the gaps in their knowledge and did their best to fill them in'.⁵ While in our own work we may only deal with one specific event, theme or geographical area, it is easy to appreciate the overwhelming force of argument found in a hefty

¹ Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, 21.

² A full list of the 'frontier cadre' can be found in McKay (2009 edition) pp.255-257. While White's diaries were quite recently destroyed by the family, the note-taking abilities of the subsequent Political Officer, Sikkim, that is Bell, Bailey, Weir, Williamson, Gould and Hopkinson can still be found in public archives and museum collections.

³ Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, 6.

⁴ See Stoler's inspiring analysis of the Dutch colonial archive in her introduction for, *Along the Archival Grain*.

⁵ Richards, *ibid.*, 3.

file dropped on the desk of a Secretary of State, which had been collated by ‘the man on the spot’.⁶ As Cohn and Richards both argue the trivia contained within the files of British India was one of the key instruments of knowledge building, it was a time when the endless random thoughts, comments and pieces of intelligence compiled by officers; ‘transformed into textual forms such as encyclopedias and extensive archives that were deployed by the colonial state in fixing, bounding and settling India’.⁷

In this final chapter, we will take a look into both the macro and micro narratives of the colonial archive and specifically the creating, recording and maintaining of inventories that documented the arrival of Tibetan gifts into British Indian hands during Bell’s tenure as Political Officer, Sikkim. These are the very archives that have made possible earlier chapters filled with object biographies, diplomatic gift exchanges, the mapping of ‘local knowledge’ networks and the highlighting of Bell’s *modus operandi* in terms of his collecting practices. These same archives that have already offered up so much still have a great deal to divulge, especially when we consider the ignored gift lists that give us further insights into the Anglo-Tibetan relationship at this crucial time. These gift inventories - as they were passed down the colonial line and slipped into folders of ever increasing weight and girth - saw their ability to hold on to the narratives of an individual object, objects now likely to be in a museum or private collection in the UK or in India, become more and more problematic. As Dirks and Burton⁸ make clear through their rereading of the archives, histories were erased, rewritten and constructed by the dominant colonial voice. As we step back from the clerical officers that assembled the folders of knowledge and then filed them away for future reference, we are able to survey this process and understand how what is valued as knowledge was transformed. I will argue that by tracing back through the archive we can see how in the case of Tibetan objects, a very different level of understanding in relation to object agency and biography could have been made possible if only the information known to the man on the spot had travelled with the object to its final destination.

This archival study will then be reflecting on rather than merely extracting information from several archival inventories. In the first instance we will map the role of the *tosha khana* and its multi-functional purpose within the British India government. The British India *tosha khana* or Treasury has received barely any attention in any previous writings on colonial collecting, imperial history or object biography despite there being extensive archives in the National

⁶ In this chapter the men on the spot are; Charles Bell, Political Officer, Sikkim, David Macdonald, British Trade Agent Yatung and additionally British Trade Agent Gyantse and also Robert Siggins Kennedy, India Medical Service officer and acting British Trade Agent, Gyantse.

⁷ Cohn, *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge*, 8.

⁸ Dirks, “Colonial Histories and Native Informants,” 280 and Burton, *Archive Stories*, 2.

Archives of India.⁹ This is surprising when considering the *tosha khana* played such a pivotal and critical role in the cataloguing, valuing, circulating and consuming of Tibetan gifted objects during the early twentieth century. As an extension of the wider project of compiling colonial knowledge, objects gifted to British officials, just like facts, figures and intelligence, would frequently find themselves inventoried, appraised and then allocated. As a result their journeys are often possible to trace from their source to their eventual owner who on many occasions had no connection at all to the original gift event that the object was involved in.

Significantly, we will see how the *tosha khana*, and those who administered it, set a gift's new value, invariably this was an object lesson in valuing like for like. In some respects the *tosha khana* process of applying a market value to an object helped to create the situation many Tibetan objects now find themselves in. One in which objects have been 'dehumanised', their biographies and the original agency intended on their arrival into British India removed. By charting the logistical process of the *tosha khana* we will see this object silencing for ourselves. Alongside this, the *tosha khana* controlled the colonial consumption of objects and who would have the privilege to consume them. As might be expected within a British India institution the hierarchies and rankings of officers came very much into consideration. The men who purchased these objects could very easily do so without any knowledge of how they had arrived in to their hands and there were rich pickings indeed for the men who found themselves in the higher reaches of the Foreign Office, especially for those who were able to pull rank.

Moving from the expansive overview of the *tosha khana* we will take two further steps to see how some object histories have remained with the object, making them exceptional for their connection to specific people and places. Charting these cases we become aware of how reliant we are on the man on the spot (who may have originally been gifted the object and who would then tag it and follow it in order to buy it back from the *tosha khana*), to value and record the history tied to it before it could be wiped clean. Then finally, we will reach the micro-narrative of colonial archiving represented here by Bell's own personal, unpublished catalogue, *List of Curios*. This inventory, like the *tosha khana*, added much to colonial knowledge, in this case recording Tibetan aristocratic networks of influence and the cataloguing of objects using the material knowledge of Himalayan men. This then is not necessarily the catalogue of an object appraiser, but more obviously it is one of an information gatherer. What Derrida might call; 'a multi-directional phenomenon', in which a catalogue provides us with, 'crossroads, chorus, mingling of

⁹ This chapter will be limited to the Tibetan context, but this is an expansive subject covering much of British India. This area is of increasing interest and I intend to do a wider study on the *tosha khana* as part of my post-doctoral research.

voices'.¹⁰ Here within these pages we find the *List of Curios* offering up details of Tibetan aristocratic genealogy, personal moments of material contact during important diplomatic encounters and the inevitable births, marriages and deaths. While the *tosha khana* may provide us with an expansive, but frustratingly shallow view across Anglo-Tibetan material contact, Bell's *List of Curios*, gives us an impressive insight into a select number of encounters and associated objects. It is through this list that we begin to see who provides the information that later becomes fact and what types of information they are privileging over others.

It would be easy to surmise that the public record, the colonial *tosha khana* archive would have long ago provided the official account of how objects were collected and consumed during the colonial period in India. But unlike personal archives such as *List of Curios*, which has itself been viewed by a growing number of researchers and curators, the *tosha khana* records for this period appear not to have been viewed since the day they were filed away.¹¹ Up until this point we have relied heavily on the archives of the individual to create an understanding of how object gifting, consumption and the construction of collections came to be in British India, while the practices of the wider colonial collecting project have gone unnoticed. The *tosha khana* and its processes have remained silent, its place in the colonial project and its impact on the individual untold until now.

The *tosha khana*: British India's Treasure House

At each Agency a department known as a "Toshakhana," or "gift-house," is maintained, into which all presents received by the Trade Agents in their official capacities are deposited on behalf of Government, which has to pay for the gifts made in return. The accumulated presents are periodically sent down to India, where they are sold, and the proceeds credited to Government. Officials on the spot may, however, at their proper valuation, purchase any such presents should these be desired for their private use, the price realised being placed on the credit side of the account.- David Macdonald¹²

The twenty-first century *tosha khana*s of India and Pakistan, and the gifts within them, still play a vital role in determining the wealth and status of their country's politicians and power brokers. Gifts are, without a doubt, still a potent tool for gaining favour, for cementing deals or for acknowledging alliances. Reports on websites and in newspapers of gifts not declared, gifts auctioned for charity or gifts displayed in national galleries, show that what happens to a gift

¹⁰ Derrida, *Geneses, Genealogies, Genres, and Genius*, 8.

¹¹ NAI records the name of each file 'borrower' in a slip at the back of each folder, while there were many familiar and unfamiliar names in many of the Tibet files, the slips in the back of the *tosha khana* files were all blank.

¹² Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 120.

given on the international stage is not merely a matter for personal consideration.¹³ A gift's depositing (or not) into the national *tosha khana* and its subsequent handling are all cause for concern in the public arena and a gift's final resting place can still make or break a political career.¹⁴

The same concerns were also true for the administrators of British India. The notion that there was a need to establish some mode of control over the material products of gift encounters came early to the British, as they acknowledged the need to maintain political and financial power over the wealth that was to be found in early Anglo-Indian exchanges. As we have seen with the British understanding of diplomatic encounters, while there had been changing perceptions of what the gift should be in British India, it eventually became clear that the inevitable gifts they accumulated needed managing. Once again as with the rethinking of diplomatic encounters the British turned to a pre-colonial administrative concept that was already shown to be a tried and tested method for controlling, distributing and symbolising wealth; the *tosha khana*. For all intents and purposes the same *tosha khana* system we find alive and well today.¹⁵

The *tosha khana*, a word of Persian origin which can be translated as 'Treasury' or 'Treasure House', had its Indian foundations in the administration of both the Sikh Gurdwaras and the Maharaja's courts of pre-colonial India, with both these religious and courtly institutions using the term *tosha khana* to describe their treasuries. In physical terms, the *tosha khana* was an elaborate storeroom and accompanying inventory that housed the amassed gifts of devotion and tribute presented to both Mughal leaders and religious institutions. Symbolically, the *tosha khana*; 'established a direct relationship between control of the *tosha khana* and the right to rule'.¹⁶ These stores often themselves places of historical significance, grandeur and opulence occasionally threw open their vault-like doors allowing the local community and devotees to see or pay

¹³ Several on-line newspapers and blogs including, *One India* and *Thai India* regularly report on the deposits to state or national *tosha khana*s. Gujarat's Chief Minister and at the time of writing prime ministerial candidate, Narendra Modi was applauded for declaring and auctioning his gifts in aid of a girl's charity (Thaindian News: 2008b), while the current Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was looking for a home, which he hoped would be the National Museum, for the many diplomatic gifts he had received, which were currently in store in the country's *tosha khana*; a three-room storage facility in Akbar Bhavan, New Delhi (Thaindian News: 2008a).

¹⁴ President Asif Zardari was criticized for keeping two Toyota jeeps given by Colonel Gaddafi after paying just fifteen percent of their retail value, a legal *tosha khana* practice in Pakistan. Klasra, "Zardari breaks all records of keeping foreign gifts."

¹⁵ My ability to piece together a history of the *tosha khana* has at this stage been hampered by a near deafening silence in terms of its appraisal by recent historians and its discussion in the travelogues of British India officers from the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After extensive efforts I must for now content myself with a fragmentary view of its development and the obvious gaps that this first tentative account offers.

¹⁶ Murphy, "The Guru's Weapons," 318.

homage (*darshan*) to the *tosha khana*'s contents.¹⁷ As Cohn notes; 'The tosha khana (treasure room) of a prince was an archive of objects whose origin and receipt embodied his status and honor'.¹⁸ Often these stores housed an eclectic mix of materials and objects, with items of great historical and financial value nestled against bags of gold, silver and foodstuffs, which furthermore would sit alongside caches of arms and armour. In the eighteenth century, the EIC was quick to recognize the many values embodied in the *tosha khana*. Although, the continuing dominance of the Indian courts meant that it was not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the British had the opportunity to assert their own dominance over wealthy Princely States, which lead to their taking possession of a state's *tosha khana*, following its annexation.

The increasing need to exert control coincided with the arrival of Lord Cornwallis (in post 1786-1793), Hasting's replacement as Governor-General of India. He would oversee a change in direction, resulting in the tightening of procedure and the pushing through of a series of reforms, one being the institutionalization of a *tosha khana*. Corruption and nepotism, the EIC felt, blighted its chances of further profits in India and therefore any practices that could be opened up to charges of sleaze were severely curtailed. We are now aware that the changes seen in Chapter 4 resulting from Lord North's Regulatory Act of 1773 had a retrograde effect causing friction between the EIC Residents and the Princely Rulers and as a result we find in the biography of Sir Henry Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay (served 1862-1867) that;

Lord Cornwallis, finding it impossible to offend the native feeling by abolishing the custom, established a rule that all presents received by Government servants should be made over to a department of the Government Treasury – the tosha khana – out of which would be defrayed the cost of giving presents in return. This salutary practice has remained ever since - John Martineau¹⁹

It is from this period then, the late eighteenth century that we find a *tosha khana* maintained by the EIC, which was then continued by its successor the British India government after 1857. As with the pre-colonial version, this was in essence a large storeroom containing a range of gifts, medals, honours and the general paraphernalia of running a state or colonial government.²⁰ In the British context this was more than just a store room, for the EIC's and later

¹⁷ This viewing of the *tosha khana* is still practiced today. The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) displayed the contents of the Golden Temple *tosha khana* in June 2010, the gold doors of the actual *tosha khana* described as being, 'presented by Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780 – 1839). It was said each gold door was made at a cost Rs.3000'.

¹⁸ Cohn, *ibid.*, 119.

¹⁹ Martineau, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere*, 127-128.

²⁰ There were several *tosha khana*s that were allocated to storing items that could be used for reoccurring events such as the Coronation Durbars. See for example, NAI, FD, Internal August 1911. Nos.127-130. Part B (Printed) or for

British India's *tosha khana* provided a framework for quantifying the wealth of the state and British India as a whole. As we shall see from the early twentieth century case studies relating to the many Tibetan gifts that found their way into the *tosha khana*, this was not simply a matter of creating a symbolic marker of wealth that could be understood by the Princely Rulers of India. This was also a mechanism for maintaining government finances that seemed to be continually under pressure during this period. As each item was meticulously recorded, valued and assessed for auction, resale, future gifts or life in a museum display, the total monetary value of those objects housed in a specific *tosha khana* assisted in establishing the respective Residency's budget, providing annual ceremonial allocations (for example, for a *darbar*). It would also, during the occasional emergency, act as a financial company authorising a bridging loan to cover the expenses of unexpected visitors or events.²¹

Positioned within British India's Foreign Office Treasury Department, the government's primary *tosha khana*s and their respective Registrars were stationed in Calcutta and Simla (the then summer capital of British India). The Foreign Office was deemed the most appropriate and obvious place for the *tosha khana* as the gifts typically came from dignitaries and officials outside of British India's direct control. This reasoning becomes clear when we look at the *tosha khana* files submitted to the British India archives for 1916, which show that of 26 entries submitted under the sub-heading 'Presents' fourteen related to Tibet and Sikkim.²² Despite contact with Tibet being of peripheral concern within the wider context of the British India project at that time, the gift exchanges that took place between the two neighbours were significant.

As we begin to trace the route of the exchanged objects, we see that many of those gifts already discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 had passed through the *tosha khana* system. The *tosha khana* archives will then make it possible for us to understand the chain of events that led up to a gift being brought onto the *tosha khana* books. To see this we need in the first instance to take a step back, by looking at the satellite *tosha khana*s located in the outposts of British Indian administration and alongside this we will look at the inventory decisions made by colonial officers directly after the gift exchange. We will locate ourselves in the *tosha khana* of the British Trade Agencies in Yatung and Gyantse and the Residency in Gangtok. In order to illustrate the process of moving, valuing and finally depositing an object I intend to use *tosha khana* records of

the paraphernalia relating to a specific individual, such as the Viceroy see for example, NAI, FD, General December 1917. Nos.217-220 Part B.

²¹ This was the case in 1910, when the Dalai Lama arrived in British India, as Bell made it clear that the extensive costs associated with entertaining and housing the Dalai Lama could not be met by the small Sikkim *tosha khana* funds and would need to be met by the central *tosha khana* see NAI, FD, Establishment May 1911. Nos.324-329 Part B). Subsequently when the Dalai Lama and his entourage left their Darjeeling home 'Hillside', Bell once again had to request additional funds from the *tosha khana* to pay for the extensive repairs needed, see NAI, FD, Establishment June 1913, Nos.216-218. Part B.

²² See NAI, Foreign Department Index, O-Z, 1916.

these three venues from the period 1909 to 1917, which as we have already noted was a particularly intense period of diplomatic gift exchange.

In working through the many different gifting events recorded in both the *tosha khana* records and in the private notebooks and diaries that belonged to Bell, it seems that on receipt of a gift an officer of Bell's rank and standing could follow one of three basic principles. All three were seen as legitimate responses to a gift exchange by the British Indian government. The options open to an officer were as follows:

- Deposit the gifts into the *tosha khana*, foregoing any claim one had over the items given (this often was the case for the large gift events discussed in Chapter 4). These gifts could then be sold or auctioned off. The *tosha khana* would then cover the cost of all the return gifts.
- Send the gifts and their listings immediately to the *tosha khana*'s Registrar for independent valuation (or valuations could also be provided by the sending officer if the objects were of a commonly recorded type). The officer could then request permission to buy back from the *tosha khana* specific items once the valuation process had been completed. The *tosha khana* would then pay for all the return gifts once the money had been deposited.
- Retain the gifts and then reciprocate with gifts of equal value paid directly from one's own pocket. These objects do not then appear on the *tosha khana* lists.

As will become obvious, depending on which of these three options was applied to an object greatly affected its ability to retain its biography and its historical significance.

'Brought on the books': The Logistics of the tosha khana, from Tibet to the Foreign Office

August saw the annual stock-taking of the Himalayan *tosha khana*s with a yearly report on the Gangtok, Gyantse and Yatung stores being compiled and submitted for scrutiny and approval to the Foreign Office's *tosha khana* department. This was in readiness for the government stock take that took place every year on the 30th September. These annual government stock takes, carried out and then compiled from across the British India territories, inventoried the material wealth housed within the various *tosha khana* across British India, making it an opportune time to assess what items needed to be retained or which could be sold off and then credited against the Treasury accounts. The objects retained year after year in the central government *tosha khana* were relatively few in number and related in the most part to the Viceroy's imperial attire, including robes, insignia and silverware. Also included were a large number of imperial decorations ready for distribution to ruling Indian Princes during New Year and birthday honours lists. A sizable quantity of gold nuggets and dust would also regularly arrive as gifts and

this was quickly deposited into the *tosha khana*, before its removal to the Calcutta Mint.²³ The arrival and movement of gold and silver was personally scrutinized by the *tosha khana* Registrars, for there could be no opportunity for individual officers to retain the packets of gold after the practice was outlawed with the Regulating Act of 1773. In addition to these regular *tosha khana* deposits there were also a small numbers of gifts retained that could be used again for future exchanges and would remain on the *tosha khana* inventory until they were finally given as a gift, at which time they would be struck from the books.²⁴

The majority of gifted items were however deemed to be ‘not required’. These, usually small, low value gifts, flowed into British India via the Gyantse and Yatung British Trade Agents from a steady procession of Tibetan lay officials, religious leaders and Ladakhi and Tibetan traders who passed through the Trade Agencies in order to reaffirm contact with the British and to pass on or hear the latest news and intelligence. These Trade Agencies acted as vital hubs not only for gifts, but also information exchange with the two more often than not operating hand-in-hand. A typical *tosha khana* inventory such as that compiled by Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Robert Siggins Kennedy IMS (b. 1882) in November 1909 (Appendix 8, List 1)²⁵ provides us with a picture of the type of gifts deemed unwanted by the British. These included animal skins, lengths of silks, woollen cloths, and Chinese porcelain cups with their accompanying metal stands and covers, in short, the kinds of gifts we are familiar with from Chapters 3 and 4. If it was thought that these unwanted gifts could produce a profit for the central British India *tosha khana* the gifts would be packed and sent on the hazardous journey to Calcutta or Simla. However, for some items such as the *thangkas* or the tables listed respectively as No.2 and No.4 in Kennedy’s list it was often decided that the cost of transport would outweigh the price that could be realized in India. These items were then disposed of locally, often gifted or sold (discreetly) by the Trade Agents to other passing traders or at small auctions held on behalf of the Agencies.²⁶

If a gift did make it in one piece to the *tosha khana* of Calcutta or Simla, it was swiftly dealt with by the Registrar, G Marshall,²⁷ who oversaw the unpacking, handling, processing and

²³ Practice noted in NAI, FD, General, September 1917. Nos. 47-59. Part B.

²⁴ For example, Bell holds on to several items that are presented to him by the Bhutanese Durbar in January 1910 during the signing of the Bhutan Treaty. One gift, a silver sword and sheath is later given by Bell to Sidkyong Tulku, see NAI, FD, Internal, May 1911, Nos. 218-216. Part-B.

²⁵ See NAI, FD, Internal, April 1910. Nos.127-130. Part B.

²⁶ See NAI, FD General, April 1914. Nos 183-194 Part B for a discussion between Macdonald and the *tosha khana* Registrar on the disposal locally of gifted objects. Williamson from the Treasury Office notes that, ‘As proposed by Registrar but we should when writing mention the restriction at p22 in future to effect that purchases should not belong to country from which the present on rec’d and that care should be taken that they are sold in such a way that offence may not be carried to the donors’.

²⁷ For the period under discussion the Registrar was Mr G Marshall, his name or signature recorded at the bottom of every *tosha khana* document I accessed. Biographical information for him has yet to be found, despite consulting

disposing of the contents of the crates, carried down from the Himalaya, first by mules and then by train, as quickly as possible in order to make the maximum possible profit for the government's coffers. From the archives it is clear that Marshall personally opened each crate (to ensure nothing had gone missing and to record any potential damage), he also assessed resale potential, he agreed or reconfigured locally ascribed valuations and finally he organized the method by which the gifts would to be sold.²⁸

Before a gift could be sold it was given an inventory number and its financial value had to be fixed. More often than not the Registrar adjusted the value of an object once it reached Calcutta, as the local values set by the Trade Agents and the Political Officer reflected the price that could be realized locally (see Appendix 8, List 2).²⁹ It seems that there was little call for Tibetan objects in India and the price ascribed to a gift was often devalued when it reached the British India *tosha khana* offices. A case in point was the gifted Tibetan saddle with accompanying letter sent by the Dalai Lama to Viceroy Minto, in thanks for the gift of two horses that arrived sometime just before the 27th September 1910.³⁰ The Registrar relied not only on his own knowledge and experience when it came to setting a market value for a gift, but he employed a network of local 'curio' dealers and agents whom he called upon to help him determine the resale value of more distinctive objects.³¹ In the case of the saddle;

numerous British India lists, although it is clear he held the post for several years and was an accomplished Registrar.

²⁸ The Registrars, often in collaboration with local dealers, organised auctions and sales of surplus gifts. On these occasions the Registrars requested the Political Officers and Residents to send on to the *tosha khana* certain types of gifts appropriate for the auction sale. In the case of NAI, FD, General, September 1917. Nos.47-59, Part B the auction was for rugs only. No amount was too small to recoup, more than 112 animal skins were sent from the Gyantse *tosha khana* by Bell in 1910. On their arrival into Calcutta Marshall noted, 'the worms appear to have already attacked the skins', and so local auctioneers MacKenzie Lyall & Co were asked to make an immediate sale on behalf of the government although Marshall makes it clear that, 'no mention whatever sh[oul]d be made of the fact that they belong to govt.', MacKenzie Lyall & Co agreed to the terms and the auction it was hoped would raise Rs.38. However the hammer price was just Rs.11 (Rs.9 after commission), but the state of the skins meant that Marshall had no alternative but to accept. See NAI, FD, Internal, April 1910. Nos.127-130, Part B.

²⁹ See NAI, FD, Internal, April 1910. Nos.127-130, Part B.

³⁰ These horses were part of a disastrous British gift to the Tibetans that had arrived in a piecemeal fashion several months after Minto met the Dalai Lama at Hastings House in March 1910. The Dalai Lama was magnanimous in his receipt of the horses, despite them taking almost seven months to arrive. His Holiness, notes that, 'These were received on a most auspicious day, attended with good omens and thereby it predicted a most lucky event to me. I beg to thank Your Excellency for thus making this valuable gift doubly inestimable to me'. See NAI, FD, Internal February 1911. No. 17 Part B, for the full text of the Dalai Lama's letter and the correspondence relating to the disposal of this saddle.

³¹ The dealers and agents most commonly used by Marshall included; Imre Schwaiger (1868-1940), the influential Hungarian art dealer and collector who had agents and shops in Delhi, Calcutta and Simla; Mull Chand & Sons, the 'Art and Curios' dealers who had offices in Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Kashmir and Simla and who sent several prize winning exhibits for sale to the 1903 Delhi Durbar exhibition, see Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi 1903* and in addition, Ganeshi Lal & Sons and also Mr Masters & Co.

Mr Jacob Chinaman³² who valued them yesterday said that a saddle like this would cost about 250/- in Tibet - but as there would be very few customers for it in India no one would purchase it with a view to selling it [he] would pay [no] more than Rs. 80/- or Rs 90/-³³

After careful consideration Marshall set the value of the saddle, a Tibetan saddle gifted by the Dalai Lama, to the Viceroy of India, during an important moment in Tibetan history at Rs.100/-. With the value set it was then officially brought onto the *tosha khana* books, its financial value now incorporated into the wealth of British India. While there is no record of how the saddle was eventually disposed of it fails to appear again in future stock takes, suggesting it was sold either to Mr Jacob³⁴ or internally to a member of the Foreign Office staff (see later in this chapter for discussion of disposing practices from the *tosha khana*). It also seems that it was disposed of without its accompanying letter from the Dalai Lama, which remains in the NAI archive, this was of course in order to comply with *tosha khana* procedure and to avoid causing offense to the original, and on this occasion, important giver.

As can be seen from the illustrated examples, the inventories that document the movement of Tibetan gifts from the Residency and Trade Agencies offer tantalizing pieces of information on the movement and then consumption of Tibetan gifted objects in British India. Even Bell, who we see in Chapter 1 and 3 and again later in this chapter recording the provenance of his own collection in great detail, offers up very little in his official inventory lists for the Sikkim *tosha khana*. His recording of objects received from his Tibetan colleagues and friends were in most cases noted as merely, 'A list of presents received by himself and Mrs Bell from Tibetan, Bhutan & Sikkim chiefs'. In these circumstances the entry level recording of Tibetan gifts was designed to meet the needs of the central *tosha khana* Registrar, there was no place for provenance here. The *tosha khana* in effect acted as a glorified imports and exports business, with gifts treated purely as saleable items that needed to be moved on before their value could depreciate, causing further financial loss to the British India government. But, there were exceptions to this inventorying rule and before we move on to the large-scale consumption of Tibetan gifts, special mention needs to be given to one officer who chose to record his *tosha*

³² Eaton, provides the first insight into the term 'Chinaman'. These men in the London context, in which Eaton works, owned exotic shops filled with EIC monopoly goods to which she suggests they had exclusive access. They as we see here were unlikely to actually be men from China, the title instead referring to their occupation, see Eaton, *Mimesis across Empire*, 31-33.

³³ See, NAI, FD, Internal February 1911. No. 17 Part B.

³⁴ Ali Muhammad Yaaquob or A M Jacob, as his real name was crudely anglicized, was a wealthy and somewhat mysterious dealer based in Simla in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, who it is said supplied the Princely Rulers with precious stones and jewels. See biographical entries for a short piece on his life. Also see in a rather unexpected Jack The Ripper conspiracy theory on-line forum, a scan of an account of 'Mr Jacob's' life from a 1896 article, <http://www.jtrforums.com/showthread.php?t=13294> (accessed 30th January 2014). See also, Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim* and Kanwar, *Imperial Simla: Political Culture of the Raj*, 23-24. He was a contemporary of Imre Schwaiger.

khana inventories differently and in so doing he has left us with a vision of what could have been when contemplating the erased histories of Tibetan objects.

David Macdonald: tosha khana stock-taker extraordinaire

The ever-present Macdonald, who was stationed at Yatung from 1909-24 became synonymous with the agency, which was a regular fixture on the route taken by traders, pilgrims and officials between Tibet and British India. His *tosha khana* inventories differ from the rest in that not only do they provide us with a detailed list of the type and the scale of objects that passed through the agencies, but they also give us an insight into who visited Macdonald there. His early schooling at the Bhutia Boarding School in Darjeeling ensured he kept a close record of those travellers he received at Yatung. His *tosha khana* lists not only catalogued the gifts given and their value, as was expected, but importantly he recorded the name of the giver and in many cases the date the gifts had been given on. Through Macdonald's lists we see for instance that in a twelve month period between September 1914 and October 1915 Macdonald received gifts from the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama,³⁵ one of the Chief Ministers of Tibet, Shokhang, the leading Ladakhi merchant in Lhasa, Khan Sahib Haji Ghulam Mohammed, and the influential Bhutanese advisor Raja Ugyen Dorji (see Appendix 8, List 3).³⁶ Alongside these more notable givers, we also find a list of influential chiefs and officials who could provide Macdonald with all manner of intelligence from salacious gossip to marriages, promotions, births and deaths in the local area.

These small, but crucial details allow us to comprehensively explore the smaller, one-to-one gifting events that orbited and solidified the much larger diplomatic events that have been charted in Chapter 4. In Appendix 7, Text Box 12, for example, we see Macdonald's *tosha khana* list compiled before the annual stock take of 1913 and there at the bottom of page 2 are a series of gifts including a significant sum of gold dust, a Buddhist statue and a Tibetan sword presented to Macdonald on the 29th July 1913 by Lönchen Shatra. The significance of this exchange is clear to us only because of the recording of the date and the giver. This was Shatra stopping at Yatung on his way to the Simla conference. As we have already seen in Chapters 3 and 4 he gave significant numbers of gifts, on behalf of the Dalai Lama to the Viceroy, McMahon and Bell,³⁷

³⁵ Considering the Panchen Lama was now something of a political outcast to the British, he continued to send substantial numbers of gifts to the various Trade Agencies during the period concerning us. Despite British India attempts to try and distance itself from the Panchen Lama he continued to make approaches throughout Bell's tenure at the Sikkim Residency.

³⁶ See NAI, FD, General, April 1916. Nos.267-271, Part B.

³⁷ There is also a fine Chinese silk robe cut in Tibetan style in the Liverpool collection that I have been unable to discuss in the confines of this thesis that was given to Bell by Shatra sometime during the Simla conference in 1913. The robe can be seen at <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=53.43.1&coll=1&page=1&themeId=9&expand=50824>

but here through these two extra inventory columns, we are able to comprehend the true sophistication of Tibetan diplomatic gift gifting. All those who had the potential to influence proceedings at Simla would be gratified with a gift. In the case of Macdonald, it was clear that he was an influential officer and with his dual Sikkim-Scottish heritage his knowledge of Tibetan affairs ensured he had become a trusted advisor to Bell. Tibet's Chief Minister understood this relationship and also the chain of intelligence that ran from Macdonald, to Bell and subsequently to McMahon ensuring that Macdonald would be one of the first gift recipients in the build up to the Simla conference.

This is just one of many satellite gift encounters that thanks to Macdonald we can see orbiting the more high profile diplomatic gift events. Additionally, we also find names in the *tosha khana* inventory lists that add a material dimension to much bigger political events. From that same 1913 inventory we see a flow of gifts from Qing and Chinese officials. While we don't always have a name Macdonald still provides us with enough information to see that these were the Manchu officials who had been installed in Tibet by the Qing empire. These men were now fleeing Tibet not only due to the collapse of the Qing empire in 1911, but also as the collapse had allowed the Tibetan troops to gain the upper hand in the fierce street battles that had been raging in Lhasa since 1910. With an agreement struck to end the fighting, it was arranged that the Chinese troops would be expelled from Tibet via British India.³⁸ As Macdonald recollects this was a desperate and dangerous situation for the Manchu and Chinese officers and many sold what possessions they had as they made their way out of Tibet.³⁹

In Macdonald's inventory we see that some of the most notorious Chinese and Manchu leaders passed through Yatung during this period of exodus and included in the Yatung *tosha khana* we see several gifts from a General Chung Ying (Zhong Ying). Zhong Ying was the army general who had led the 2000 troops from China to Lhasa in 1910, causing the Dalai Lama to make his escape to British India. He was now trying to hold on to his new status as Lhasa *Amban* annoying the British and Macdonald's Yatung Agency by staying in the Chumbi valley before finally moving on to British India in 1913.⁴⁰ It is clear from these small gifts that Zhong Ying was still doing what he could to gain British favour in the hope of keeping his new appointment. There were in addition 'two idols' from the deposed Manchu Amban Lienyu (see Len Amban) who had been replaced by Zhong Ying.⁴¹ Macdonald says of the day Lienyu gave the gifts that:

³⁸ Lamb, *The McMahon Line*, 371-385.

³⁹ Macdonald, *ibid.*, 78-89.

⁴⁰ Lamb, *ibid.*, 379-384.

⁴¹ See, Ho, "The Men Who Would Not Be Amban and the One Who Would," 210-246, Palace, *The British Empire and Tibet, 1900-1928*, Lamb, *ibid.*, 381.

He lunched with me, and gave me his views on the recent troubles. He blamed principally the newly raised troops who had been sent to garrison Tibet...It was pathetic to see this aristocratic mandarin of the old regime, used to the exercise of the greatest powers...reduced to his present extremity. He had not a rupee to his name, and possessed only the clothes he wore.⁴²

The gift of these two statues was no doubt a gentle plea for assistance, a possible last grasp at restoring his previous powers before he left Tibet for British India on his way back to China.

Macdonald's lists then, provide us with a new depth to our previous understanding of Tibetan gift exchange and indeed Macdonald's pivotal role in building networks of information. What his thorough listings of each giver suggest is that Macdonald expected an object's association with an important individual to remain attached to it, to be of significant use as intelligence to the officer he was passing the list on to, in this case Bell. Inadvertently, what Macdonald has also given us, a century later, is a small window on to the critical role gifted objects played in the relationships Macdonald fostered with Tibetan and Chinese personalities. What his lists so strikingly remind us of is that those objects in public and private collections that are silent now could once have taken part in defining moments in Anglo-Tibetan history. An object's biographical fate lay in the choices made by the man on the spot; it was his decision as to whether or not these associations would be recorded in the archives or whether they would be left behind as the gifted object made its way to the heart of British India.

The tosha khana and British India's hierarchies of consumption

The understood hierarchies of the British India government played their own part in the consumption and distribution of Tibetan gifts deposited in the *tosha khana* system. Gifts given by Tibetans did not necessarily remain with their intended recipients;⁴³ instead the strict hierarchies of privilege and prestige were observed even when gifts were given in some cases for extremely personal reasons. It was as might be expected the privilege of the Viceroy to get first refusal on any significant gifts that came into the *tosha khana*. As in the case of Hardinge, who as we have already seen in Chapter 4 collected Chinese jades, it was the duty of an Under Secretary in the Foreign Department, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Richard Henry Chenevix Trench (1876-1954) to ensure that anything of interest came to the Viceroy's attention. This was the case in a routine submission of, 'Presents given to the Political Officer in Sikkim and others by the Sikkim,

⁴² Macdonald, *ibid.*, 113-114.

⁴³ It appears that Tibetan aristocrats were well aware of the *tosha khana* procedure. In September 1915 Kusho Doring gave Bell a, 'Knife with jade handle in blue cloisonné sheath', which Doring, 'particularly asks me not to send it to the tosha khana, saying that it is an old and good piece' (A40 *List of Curios*, NML Collection 50.31.32, see on-line collection catalogue entry for further details on the knife at: <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.32&mat=2&coll=1&page=1>

Bhutan and Tibetan Chiefs' by Bell in 1915.⁴⁴ In this list, '1 Yed-Shin-gug-pe Chak-kya yid bzhin 'gugs pa'i phyag rgya [EM: A luck bringing emblem] made of Chinese wood set with jade' was submitted and quickly Trench requested that; 'When the valuation of the articles is approved the piece of wood set with jade may be sent to HE the Viceroy, as he has expressed a wish to see all the jade articles rec[orde]d in the T[osha] K[hana] Nos 4+5 are also valuable curios and they may be shown to HE as well?'. With the value set at Rs.50 the jade was sent for the Viceroy's inspection, but on this occasion Hardinge decided it wouldn't make a contribution to his collection and so it was sent back to the *tosha khana*.

Officers, in submitting their lists, could make a claim on a gift that they wanted for their own collection; the object in question was identified by placing a cross next to it on the submitted list. The object would still need to be sent to the *tosha khana* for independent valuation, but providing the officer had the personal means to cover the price of the item, he could submit his payment and the item would be returned to him. In most cases this happened without issue for the officers submitting the lists of Tibetan gifts, particularly as these items were often of low value or of little interest to British India government collectors. However, from what we have just seen of the Viceroy's collecting methods, this did not necessarily mean that the officer who had received the gift would eventually be able to buy it back and Bell fell foul of this collecting hierarchy when he submitted a substantial list of gifts that had been presented to him and his wife Cashie to celebrate the birth of their daughter Rongye on the 19th February 1915.⁴⁵ There was no question over these gifts being submitted to the *tosha khana* in order for them to be accounted for in the official books, despite their intimate connection to the Bell family. As can be seen in Appendix 7, Text Box 13 Bell was given amongst other things a large quantity of silks, gold, a pony and a little pair of Tibetan boots for Rongye to wear. Bell would have needed to pay for all the gifts if he wanted to keep them in memory of Rongye's birth, and as this was a considerable amount, he chose from the substantial list to mark just five gifts that he wished to buy back: the little boots, a Chinese rug, three pieces of silk, a set of monastery pillar streamers and a 'jade slab', which despite its unappealing description was likely to be a beautifully carved jade plaque.

The gifts were packed and sent to Simla where they were inventoried. As Bell wanted to buy individual pieces back they were revalued locally by the Registrar and the dealer Mr Martin, this time it seems, in order to ensure that Bell didn't make a profit from his own valuations. The whole process seemed as if it would be a simple one as the Registrar's assistant notes that, 'There is no objection to Mr Bell buying in the articles he has mentioned', then, 'but the jade slab may

⁴⁴ NAI, FD, General, September 1915. Nos. 239-240, Part B.

⁴⁵ See, NAI, FD, General, July 1915. Nos. 212-215, Part B.

first be sent to the GSV [General Secretary to the Viceroy] for HE the Viceroy to see. HE wishes to see all jade articles rec[orde]d in the T[osha]K[hana] and he may like to buy this piece'. And indeed he did, having seen the carved jade plaque, Hardinge bought it from the *tosha khana* for Rs.15, while Bell was left without one of the gifts he wanted to keep as a memento of his daughter's arrival. Bell, as with so many of his *tosha khana* lists, does not note who he received the jade plaque from,⁴⁶ but the fact that Bell made the request suggested there was some significance there. We know from Chapter 3 that Bell was not a 'type' collector, unlike Hardinge he didn't have a penchant for jade. The objects he brought into his collection either provided him with some previously unknown detail of Tibetan culture, they enhanced his aristocratic Tibetan taste, or they signified a significant moment or connection for him.⁴⁷

Looking at this with a century's worth of perspective the fact that Hardinge decided to take this jade plaque may seem somewhat heartless, but from Hardinge's perspective it was his absolute right to buy what he wanted from across the empire that he ruled over, whatever the connection might be between an individual object and a lower ranking officer. The previous association to Bell and the good wishes sent by his Tibetan and Bhutanese colleagues embodied in the gifts would be lost. The jade plaque would become part of the 'Sir Charles Hardinge collection of Chinese jades'.⁴⁸ He was now the object's recognized collector and any connection to Bell and to Tibet would be erased as the jade plaque began its new life with Hardinge.

We have already seen that the Viceroy was discerning in his choices and he didn't take everything he was offered. If this was the case and he declined a gift, a further chain of events was set in motion that saw Tibetan gifts picked off and consumed by men unknown to those operating on the eastern Himalayan borderlands and more to the point to the Tibetans who had originally sent the gifts in the first place. This 'cherry-picking' can most clearly be seen in the aftermath of the Simla Convention gift exchange of 1913 (see Appendix 6 and Text Box 10). Hardinge having looked over the listings for the gifts he received decided to view a large number of the objects, which resulted in him keeping several of the gifts made to him and his wife by Chief Minister Shatra, on behalf of the Dalai Lama.⁴⁹ I would suggest that these gifts aroused

⁴⁶ However, it is tempting to think of the Dalai Lama's gifts of jade to Bell and the large collection of jades owned by the Dalai Lama noted by both Bell and Margaret Williamson later in this chapter.

⁴⁷ Bell did already have a jade slab on a wooden stand in his collection by 1913, A28, *List of Curios*, now 1933,0508.91 BM collection. Although the date of collection is not noted it appears to have been given to Bell by the Dalai Lama during his time in British India and thus predates Hardinge's reign as Viceroy.

⁴⁸ See the Oriental Museum, Durham University, UK the home of Hardinge's son's jade collection, which incorporated pieces from his father the Viceroy.

⁴⁹ The memos relating to this gift exchange show that while the procedures of the *tosha khana* were tightly followed by the vast majority of officers, the Viceroy did not always pay for the costly gifts he decided to keep. It seems he did not pay for the jade pot and Buddhist statue that he kept from the first of the Simla gifts. Marshall reviews the records and notes that several gifts including previous gifts of jade from the Dalai Lama made in December 1912

significant interest in the men that surrounded the Viceroy and who worked in the Foreign Office, the type of lower rank officials who would not have had ready access to Tibetan material culture. These gifts from their descriptions don't appear to be the common or garden type Tibetan gifts that usually flowed into the *tosha khana*. Instead these were full dances costume, complete sets of *thangka* and high quality metalwork. These were visually arresting objects that would have been very difficult to find on the Indian plains or in the curio shops of Darjeeling and Simla.

It is hardly surprising then that once the Viceroy had made his decision, lower ranked officers quickly stepped in to literally put their mark on the gifts they wanted. Indian army Captains Reginald Benson and John MacKenzie, both employed as ceremonial officials in the Viceroy's household, saw an opportunity and when gathering up the gifts for return to the *tosha khana* Benson wrote;

I have sent the Tibetan gifts back. They are not much as HE has taken everything worth having - I have put aside some things that John Mackenzie would like priced and also something for myself. Could you let me know what sort of price they want for them sometime⁵⁰

To ensure there was no misunderstanding the two men had carefully attached slips to the gifts they wanted, which included the dances costumes and masks, the remaining *thangka* and the animal skins. But it seems that they had been over presumptuous. When the valuations for the leftover gifts came in from Marshall⁵¹ they also caught the attention of the officials in the Treasury Office. Deputy Secretary, H Wilkinson sent a request; 'Please send the 4 picture scrolls for me to see again' and decides, 'I will take 2 of them'.⁵² It seems that the two Captains should have known their place as he also notes in his memo, 'What things did Capt Benson and Mackenzie ask for? Officers in this office should have first refusal'.⁵³ Despite the Treasury Office staff knowing what the two Captains wished to acquire, the circulating and claiming of objects from this gift was not yet done, in fact it was agreed that; 'The [remaining] articles will be sent to

have not been paid for and he urged for procedures to be tightened and for assurances that the Viceroy would pay for what he has decided to keep.

⁵⁰ See, NAI, FD, General, April 1914. Nos.195, Part B.

⁵¹ The valuations were:

(1) 4 picture scrolls of the 16 Nertens @ Rs.5/-	= Rs 20/-
(2) 44 tolas of gold dust @ Rs 124/-each	= Rs 616
(3) 2 Chinese silver ingots @ Rs124/- each	=Rs 248/-
(4) 1 Mask belonging to a Brahmin's dress	Rs. 2/-
(5) 1 complete dress of the deity of the cemetery	Rs. 10/-
(6) 2 dresses of sha-nag @ Rs 25/-	=Rs. 50/-
(7) 1 complete dress of stag	Rs. 40/-
(8) 2 Leopard skins @ Rs 5/-	=Rs. 10
(9) 1 Silk scarf	Rs. 1/-

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

them when every officer in the office has seen them'.⁵⁴ With the highest ranking officer having made his selection Trench, the Under Secretary, looked over the list and decided to buy the two remaining *thangka*, after which the *tosha kbana* list was then circulated to a far wider pool of officers stationed in the Treasury.⁵⁵ Finally, a junior official, V Garat decided to take the high value dance costumes and just one of the silver trumpets. After these remaining purchases and claims, the parcel that finally made its way back to MacKenzie and Benson contained nothing but the two leopard skins, the rest had been claimed by men higher up the imperial chain of command.

This process illustrates a clear hierarchy in the consumer culture of British India officials in the early twentieth century. These records chart a collecting that was done at the desk from *tosha kbana* lists. The pickings were rich for the men in positions of power, who had the ability to build collections from the lists and from the objects that were placed in front of them. For those in the highest of positions these selections, made to build private collections, were often made without any cost to themselves, depriving the *tosha kbana* of the monetary value tied to the objects in question. This left the men further down the chain, the men who may have had some connection to the objects and the Tibetan men who had given them, to build their collections from the scraps left behind. This may explain the very nature of the collections of lower level colonial officers, for here there was no opportunity to collect a type if senior officers had already decided to do so. It may also explain the popularity of the final route available for the retention of Tibetan gifts if the officer in question had the financial means to use it.

Gifts Withheld – Biographies Retained

The Dalai Lama and his Ministers and other Tibetans from time to time gave me presents. These I sent usually to the Government of India, but by an arrangement with the latter I was permitted to retain any that I wished, on condition, of course, that I gave in return presents of at least equal value - Charles Bell⁵⁶

There is still one final route for Tibetan gifts, which despite sitting outside the official procedures of the *tosha kbana*, was still recognized by the individual givers and receivers as an accepted practice and method of recording. This was the third and final option open to a colonial officer and involved keeping the gift and buying a return gift out of one's own salary, circumventing the *tosha kbana* and all its potential accompanying frustrations. How this procedure came to be

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ McMahon, second in line for these gifts due to his role in the Simla conference, was forgotten about in the scrumage to lay claim to the remaining gifts and Wilkinson only thinks to ask McMahon if he wished to take anything a week after he had made his own selection.

⁵⁶ Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama*, 123.

acceptable to the Treasury officials, considering the strict procedural routines that surrounded the *tosha khana*, is at this stage an archival gap in our knowledge. While Bell did make arrangements with the British India government to buy back certain items that he particularly wanted (see Chapter 3), this is a far from formalized route, and one not discussed in the government papers relating to 'Presents'. Several impressive gifts that Bell retained, including a silk robe from Shatra and the horse and rider armour from the Dalai Lama never made it into the *tosha khana* records and without any archives to reflect upon, how these gifts came into Bell's personal collection remains pure conjecture. Despite this, the accept and return option showed itself to have a number of *tosha khana* controls, the difference here being that gifts that came through this process were in many cases the objects whose biographies still remain intact (particularly in Bell's case). This personal archiving provides a useful mid-point between the cataloguing methods of the *tosha khana* and the *List of Curios*.

Whether a gift was brought onto the *tosha khana* books or not it was deemed absolutely critical for the colonial officer involved to be seen to act with the upmost propriety and to follow the codes of practice laid down for gifting. Not following the proper modes of behaviour, both in the eyes of the Tibetans, Bhutanese or Sikkimese and those of the British Indian government could potentially taint an officer's standing and prestige, rendering him ineffective in his post. When Bell, newly appointed to the post of Political Officer in 1908 began developing his networks, he spoke with many of the influential Sikkimese elite and most importantly with his Residency 'orderlies'. In his notebook for that period we find him recording reams and reams of salacious gossip and rumour all of which would help him to select and identify his allies and his opponents during his tenure. Bell had been picked as the antithesis of his predecessor White and naturally we find Bell asking his new colleagues what they had thought of him. Of the few entries detailed we find several disgruntled and disapproving remarks regarding White's laxity in following accepted practices of gifting and receiving. For example, when Bell spoke to Sidkyong Tulku on the 3rd June 1909 he told him; 'He [White] appears to have kept a good many tosha khana things for his own use so the orderlies say, but I cannot say definitely whether he gave return presents to equal value out of his own pocket. It is probable that he did not, as the value of things taken by him thus was very great, and White's pay ranged only from Rs 1000/- to Rs 1800/- + he had a wife and child'.⁵⁷ White was not particularly well respected by his Himalayan or British Indian colleagues and the very fact that these comments are singled out and made to Bell, shows very clearly how the interpretation or the abuse of the gift exchange process could essentialise and summarise an individual's moral character.

⁵⁷ Bell, "Sikkim and General Notebook."

Bell heeded these character assassinations keenly and took steps to ensure he wouldn't repeat the errors White had made. His solution was to record within the same notebooks that he used to record the aristocratic in-fighting improvised *tosha khana* listings with, 'presents received' on one side of a double page and 'presents given' on the other (see Appendix 9). Once the credits and debits were equal, the tally would be crossed through to show that the balance of payments was nil. This method of personal accounting might not only have proved useful if his own character was called into question, but it would also give Bell an overview of who he was receiving presents from and how much or what they were giving. These gift tallies show how ingrained the *tosha khana*'s principles of financial valuing of gifts was. It is unclear if the *tosha khana* issued standard valuations for certain types of objects, as there was some fluctuation for unusual gifts, but in general whether personal or official, whether valued by the man on the spot or by the Registrar or alternatively by the independent auctioneers, the valuation seems to remain consistent, during the list's time frame (1908-12). The suggestion is that several of the men involved in maintaining local *tosha khana* inventories kept their own list of current pricings for the objects they received.

The list maintained in *Sikkim & General Notebook* is of particular note in that it records the gifts he was personally given by the respective leaders of Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet; the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim, Thutob Namgyal, the Gongsas of Bhutan, Ugyen Wangchuk and the Dalai Lama (See Appendix 8). The gifts listed in *Sikkim & General Notebook* are reflective of public and private events that defined Bell's time in the Himalaya and include large state occasions such as the signing of the Punakha Treaty in Bhutan in 1910 and his diplomatic successes there. Some on the other hand represent his very personal achievements including wedding presents, while others came to symbolize the relationship that Bell is known for above all others, that between himself and the Dalai Lama.

Bell's lists do diverge somewhat from official *tosha khana* entries in that they are not an inventory for a financial year, but instead they record the gifts given and received by named individuals. These may consist of just one gift event, or for others the list can record exchanges that took place over a period of two or three years. However, in the case of the sword and sheath presented to Bell by Ugyen Wangchuk (see also *List of Curios* No.51), we can see that despite the provenance Bell still employed *tosha khana* standards, valuing the gift at Rs.110/-, downgrading it from his original estimate of Rs.120/-. It is possible to imagine that this might be a ruse to acquire something cheaply, but as we have already noted with *tosha khana* valuing protocols this instead represented the uniformity of gift valuations as per the *tosha khana* regulations. The return gift list shows that the gifts Bell gave in return were of equal (financial) value, this also being

standard practice for officers who paid for the gifts out of their own salary, rather than from the *tosha khana* from which a slightly more expensive return gift would be given to raise British India prestige (see Chapter 4). The Gongsa's gifts given to Bell during the signing of the Punakha treaty, which are listed as a Bhutanese suit,⁵⁸ hat,⁵⁹ sword and two shields,⁶⁰ a dagger and sheath,⁶¹ two pan boxes,⁶² a teapot,⁶³ two additional swords⁶⁴ and two appliqué banners (which Bell values in total at Rs.1239/-) are carefully itemized and valued under the heading 'Maharaja of Bhutan'.⁶⁵ There is a scale of value from relatively inexpensive items, for example the dagger valued by Bell at Rs.50, up to the large appliqué banner, which is given a value of Rs.500/-, which in comparison to other gifting events we have witnessed makes the banner an extremely valuable item financially. Having been given the gifts between January 1909 and May 1910, Bell chalked off his return gifts from June 1909, with his first gift of a cartridge case, pouch and canvas rifle cover equalizing the gift of the dagger with Bell valuing this gift at Rs.50/-, but as with larger state gifts Bell was involved in there are delays in completing the return. The purchase of British 'modern marvels' caused delays on several occasions, and on this occasion an imported telescope and a silver box, ordered from the Calcutta-based jewellers Hamilton & Co, totaling Rs.1255/- was recorded as finally arriving more than two years after the Gongsa's first gift, it is only then that the debt can finally be written off.

Listed below the gifts from the Gongsa are a set of gifts from the Dalai Lama, all given to Bell during the early part of the Dalai Lama's stay in exile between May and September 1910. Amongst them are some of the significant gifts catalogued in great detail in *List of Curios* which have been discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, but for the purposes of this personal *tosha khana* listing the gifts are catalogued not with their biographical data, but simply with their financial values and so without the cross-referencing of archives one could be forgiven for thinking there was little of note here, with Bell listing:

- Image of Sakya Tuppa [Shakyamuni Buddha] ⁶⁶	Rs.50/-
- Three Tibetan ngü-sang at Rs.1/15/- each ⁶⁷	Rs.5/13/-
- Jade 'Chi-ling' (Col Harris estimates its value at 150-200) ⁶⁸	Rs.200/-

⁵⁸ *List of Curios* No 58-59, whereabouts unknown

⁵⁹ *List of Curios* No 60, now NML 50.31.96

⁶⁰ *List of Curios* No 54, now Private Collection

⁶¹ *List of Curios* No 52, now BM 1933.0508.75

⁶² *List of Curios* No 64, now BM 1933.0508.28. A second pan box is recorded as *List of Curios* No 65 but is noted as having been given by Timbu Dzongpön (The Thimphu Governor).

⁶³ *List of Curios* No 62, now NML 50.31.21

⁶⁴ *List of Curios* No 78, now Private Collection

⁶⁵ *List of Curios* No 66-67, now BM 1933.0508.120 and 1933.0508.121

⁶⁶ *List of Curios* No 68, now Private Collection. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of these objects.

⁶⁷ Although, there doesn't appear to be a record for the coins in The *List of Curios*, Bell records in "Diary Volume 4," 27 May 1910 that, 'Shape Samtrup Pothang gave me 100 Tib[eta]n ngü sang today as a present from the Dalai Lama. I am keeping three, sending 7 as specimens to the Foreign Dept + putting 90 into the toshakhana'.

- 2 nd & larger image of Sakya Tuppa ⁶⁹	Rs.100/-
- Pair of gyalings ⁷⁰	Rs.120/-
- Black silk + silk scarf (for my mother)	Rs.40/-
	Rs.515/13/-

These valuations have a close correlation to the valuations seen in the *tosha khana*; the standard size Shaykamuni Buddha is valued at Rs.100, while the smaller Buddha is given a lesser price of Rs.50, which falls in line with the valuation given by Schwaiger for the Shakyamuni Buddha presented to McMahon at Simla in 1913. A conclusion can be drawn from this that prices for Tibetan statues were well established and fixed, neither rising nor falling in a three year period. Furthermore, less familiar objects such as the carved jade representation of a *qilin* (see figure 5.1), were consulted on to ascertain a price. Again the pricing is modest, Bell had originally valued the *qilin* at Rs.300/- but having consulted a man called Harris he dropped the price to Rs.200/-. In comparison to the prices seen for the jades Hardinge viewed and selected, this jade can nevertheless be considered a high value item. Thus having completed his accounting Bell had a total of Rs.515/13/- with which to buy return presents.

The return gifts Bell chose to buy with his Rs.515/13/-, also meet the standards of the *tosha khana* financial procedures. On this occasion Bell decided to give, ‘a camera + accessories’ that from his diaries can be identified as a Sanderson camera; a 5” x 4” plate model complete with a full range of lenses and six dozen plates. These were well-made cameras, considered to be good professional models and at Rs.333/10/- it was by no means a cheap ‘modern marvel’.⁷¹ On a more personal note Bell had a copy of his own, *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*, bound in yellow Moroccan leather and edged with gold to go alongside the camera, and following in the same vein, he also presented a *History of England* bound in a similar manner. He perhaps considered this a good source of intelligence for the Dalai Lama, who needed to quickly build on his scant knowledge of Britain and the British empire. What these chosen gifts had in common was that they all came with receipts. From the camera supplier to the book binder, they were all fully traceable, so grand totals of gifts could, if needed, be audited by the government with Bell easily able to justify his expenditure and how it equated to the gifts he received.

This personal recording, using a modified *tosha khana* mentality offers up a mid-point between the colonial and personal archive. Bell in his personal *tosha khana* is obviously conscious of financial accountability and he sets his own object valuations so that they mirror to the rupee

⁶⁸ *List of Curios* No 69, now Private Collection

⁶⁹ *List of Curios* No 70, now Private Collection

⁷⁰ *List of Curios* No 71, now NML 51.30.79

⁷¹ There are three photographs, now in a private collection, that Bell has annotated, they show a palanquin at the centre of a procession, written underneath in Bell’s hand, ‘DL’s pepetang [palanquin], exposed and developed by DL himself’. From the few figures captured in the image and from the landscape it is likely this image was taken in the Darjeeling area.



FIGURE 5.1
Qilin
 18th century
 China
 Courtesy of Private Collection

those of the *tosha khana*, any personal affection or value for an object is very much set aside. However, Bell's tallies go one step further than the average *tosha khana* list he supplied for the Treasury Office in that he centres his information not primarily on objects and their valuations, but on the individuals involved. This subtle shift provides just enough evidence to make connections across several archival sources in order to identify objects from the significant gift exchanges we have already discussed. The most significant of those archival sources, the one that allows us to make that jump from anonymous statue to gift of the Dalai Lama is of course the *List of Curios*.

The *List of Curios*: Bell's colonial archive

When turning to Bell's *List of Curios*, we now know that we find very different value systems accorded to the objects through the words of Bell's Sikkimese, Bhutanese and Tibetan colleagues and acquaintances. These were values that could not necessarily be accounted for in terms of *rupees*, *annas* and *paisas*, making the descriptions and the multiple voices that authored them difficult to fix and settle

In simple, analytical terms *List of Curios* is a loose-leaved typed document with handwritten corrections and amendments. Collated from several handwritten notebooks (Appendix 10) it was assembled as a typed catalogue sometime after 1928, although there is no

title page and no date of production noted by Bell. It records object by object the information Bell gathered on each individual piece in his collection (Appendix 10). Each entry begins with the object title, the source of the information and the date on which the object was discussed, interestingly, and with echoes of the *tosha khana*, the price if paid is also noted. Entries differ greatly in length and detail, with some no more than a sentence, while others such as No.7, a contemporary *thangka* of Padmasambhava command several pages of detailed iconographical information. The length of entry does not seem to collate to the art historical or ethnographic importance of the object, but objects gifted during particular events (like No.68 - No.73 for the Dalai Lama's gifts from 1910-12) or by significant people have been grouped together and are often those with the longest descriptions.⁷² Infrequently included throughout the catalogue is handwritten Tibetan script inserted by Bell, with spaces left in the typed document to allow for this, there is no consistency in use here, but the appearance of Tibetan is often used for names, unfamiliar words and places.

The catalogue is divided into two sections with the numbering system for the first section running from 1-291, with the acquisition dates for the final objects in this group appearing to converge with Bell's retirement in 1918. A second section was added, which Bell entitled, *List of Chinese Curios and a few Japanese*, the numbering system again begins with 1, but with the prefix 'A'. The title of this section is misleading, as while the entries do at first cover objects he acquired in Canton and Tokyo in 1907, they lead into entries for the objects he acquired whilst in Lhasa in 1920-21. Also included are a small number of objects gifted or purchased from Palhese (1928) and Geshe Wangyal (1937) which Bell received once he had returned to England. There is no object catalogue for his China/Manchuria/Mongolian trip of 1934-35, nor has a collection of objects specifically relating to that episode in his life come to light, although a good photographic record exists in the British Library and the diaries for this period are held at National Museums Liverpool.

Bell didn't write an introduction to *List of Curios* and so we are left without a *raison d'être* for the catalogue, both in terms of the choices he made when deciding to collect an object and in terms of his methodology for documenting them. What we can say is that *List of Curios* still plays a fundamental role in understanding Bell as a collector, a diplomat and particularly as an information-gatherer. Bell's notebooks and diaries were invaluable tools in the recording of petty scandals and arguments between prominent Tibetan and Sikkimese families that would otherwise be lost to history. Unlike the *tosha khana*, I will argue that *List of Curios* can be read as an extension of this colonial information gathering project. *List of Curios* was not collated solely as

⁷² The catalogue does appear to loosely follow a chronology of Bell's collecting, but it is not possible to say this is a definitive chronology as the date of acquisition for many objects is not recorded.

an inventory of financial value, but it can instead be read as an inventory of personal networks and intelligence.

List of Curios brings coherence and a narrative structure to a jumbled collection of objects, whose meanings would have no doubt been lost in the ensuing years. Without *List of Curios* this cloisonné pen holder (figure 5.2) would have been little more than a reasonable example of the art of cloisonné and within the museum space would have taken its place alongside other examples of Chinese cloisonné to create a systematic collection of that particular technique. Its connection to Tibet would have been unknown to us. But due to *List of Curios*, this is not the case for we can see that, 'No: A99: Do-ring gave this to Palhese three or four years ago. Do-ring had it in the Do-ring house in Lhasa, and kept it on his table for keeping pens etc. in it'. In this relatively inconsequential object and in the seemingly mundane information recorded with it we can begin to map the personal connections between Tibetan aristocrats in early twentieth century central Tibet. In this case, the connection between Kusho Doring, an influential Tibetan aristocrat from Gyantse and his relative Palhese.

As in his notebooks and diaries, Bell did not usually indulge himself in judgemental commentary on the information he received and here too he is one step removed from the actual process of appraising or identifying the objects contained in *List of Curios*. He retains the prerequisite air of 'disinterestedness' rarely offering us his own feelings on an object in his catalogue. There are no superlatives when he records his own words, but instead he leaves any such praise to the men who helped to make the catalogue possible, the main protagonists being the Barmiok Lama and Palhese. Here, Bell is the passive recorder rather than the active cataloguer. The recording of each hesitation,⁷³ and on occasion contradictory object appraisal, seems to suggest that as with the continual flow of random thoughts and intelligence that found their way into Bell's notebooks and diaries, the random thoughts and appraisals provided for Bell's assembled objects, highlight the uncertainties that informed Bell's knowledge of Tibet.

Bell may have recorded the information word for word, but his ICS training did not mean that he was above blind-testing to ensure he was receiving the most accurate descriptions for his objects. It is clear from the entries in *List of Curios* that Bell presented objects to his appraisers and describers often without any background information; one feels in some instances this was more of a quiz than a consultation. In the recording of No.68, the Shakyamuni Buddha, we are already aware that he has received information from a number of sources, including Laden La, Palhese, the Lönchens and then later from the Dalai Lama himself.

⁷³ Having given an exhaustive description of a *thangka* featuring Chenrezi and a multitude of other beings, Bell asks about one final figure, 'The one on a mule in the left hand corner is Marsolma who the other (blue) is, the Lama is not sure'. *List of Curios* No.22, as of yet unlocated.



FIGURE 5.2
Cloisonné pen holder
19th century, China
National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.36

The Dalai Lama and all his Ministers, and Palhese and Laden-La say that the image was brought to Tibet when Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in the seventh century. The Dalai Lama says it has been kept in his own private apartments since the time of the first Dalai Lama. Palhese thinks it was kept in his private chapel called shen don kang.

But Bell wanted one final verification and so almost three years later, he presented the Barmiok Lama with the same Shakyamuni Buddha on the 13th January 1913, and Bell records what the Barmiok Lama offered him.

The Barmiak Lama is very enthusiastic over this image also. He considers it and No 70 [the larger Shakyamuni Buddha] to be both excellent' and then in a rare intervention Bell notes, 'I did not tell him that the Dalai Lama had given them to me, until he had finished describing them'.

Sadly, this is all that we learn of this testing process, nor does Bell tell us what the Barmiok Lama's reaction was on hearing this news. There is no suggestion here that Bell didn't trust the information he was receiving from both the Dalai Lama and the Barmiok Lama, but cross-

checking sources when compiling intelligence was a well established practice for Bell and this was an illustration of his comprehensive approach to information gathering, ensuring every possible interpretation available to him had been captured.

Palhese's object descriptions are occasionally more problematic, as they raise questions over the stability of colonial cataloguing, highlighting the personal agendas of those involved in the gathering of information. In *List of Curios* No.A49, we find a blue and white porcelain cup given to Bell by Palhese on the 9th September 1920, it is recorded that; 'Palhese says it is some two thousand years old, having been made during the time when kings were first established in Tibet'. Palhese goes on to say that, 'A good many cups with tails like this are imported from China, but they are not to be compared in value with one of these old ones. These tailed cups are used by the Dalai Lama and high officials on occasions of unusual ceremony only'. However, Bell again looks for a second opinion and in doing so presents the cup to Macdonald not as an empty vessel, but this time he offers Macdonald the information given by Palhese. 'Macdonald estimates it as only two hundred years old; adding that it is well known that formerly Tibetans used to make porcelain but have since lost the art, and that the crudeness of the workmanship on this cup indicates that it was made by a Tibetan'. The discrepancies in the dating of this cup made it difficult for Bell to reconcile the two appraisals, but again he did not challenge the difference, but instead merely noted the information he was given. Palhese however clearly thought his information was accurate validating his cup's provenance by citing his source.

the lay superintendent (Tra-tsang) of the [Pü-kang] monastery gave the cup to Palhese in accordance with the usual customs by which tenure-holders give presents to their landlords. The lay superintendent described it as a cup of Tibetan porcelain and of great value

We have to wonder if there was some hyperbole in the provenance provided by the superintendent, especially as Palhese was the landlord of the estate the monastery was located on. Even if this was the case we have already seen that Palhese was a skilled appraiser of Tibetan material culture in his own right and so it would have been difficult to offer a provenance like this to a man who knew. Palhese may have wanted to present Bell with an impressive, historical gift, but the two men were old friends by 1920 and there would have been little need for one to impress the other at this stage in their friendship.

The comments relating to the Tibetan kings are nevertheless interesting. It is highly doubtful that this cup was close to 2000 years old, if it was this would put its date of production several centuries before the dates established for the Tibetan kings (although as an unlocated object it is impossible to confirm or deny the claim). Interestingly, Palhese was not the only Phalha to make such claims for an object, as Kusho Phalha, in presenting No.A42 (figure 5.3) a



FIGURE 5.3
Lacquered stoneware bowl
17th century, Tibet
National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.41
Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool

small porcelain dish with a red lacquer-like glaze, told Bell that it was; ‘Known to the Tibetans as Wang-kar (i.e ‘cup of the time of King Wang) Believed to have been made in Tibet by Tibetans’.⁷⁴ Kusho Phalha validated his claims in a similar manner to Palhese stating that; ‘This cup has been at least 300 years in the possession of the Palha family in the Yang-ku. The most valuable things are kept in the yang-ku and are not taken out’. But Bell in a rare moment of analysis asked; ‘But query did Tibetans ever do this lacquer work?’ Bell makes no decision in either case as to what or who to believe, but as with his usual practice he simply recorded what he is offered.

So what may have prompted these claims? The answer might lay in the fallen prestige of the Phalha family and the continuing need of the family to re-establish their aristocratic credentials by creating associations with the Tibetan kings through the objects they presented to Bell. As already discussed in Chapter 2 the Phalhas had suffered not only a loss of fortune, but also a loss of prestige amongst the Tibetan aristocracy for their part in the Das affair and there were still many misgivings over Palhese and his family’s support of the British government. Whatever the reason, these small, seemingly insignificant objects, which would have no doubt

⁷⁴ King Wang is said to have lived sometime after the Tibetan King, Ralpacan (806-838) and before the founder of the Gelukpa Je Tsongkhapa (1357–1419).

received a low valuation if they had reached the *tosha khana* instead held on to their donor's intended agenda.

We see that Bell's ability to know Tibetan material culture in this case is, *knowing that*, it is fact based. He is not able to determine for himself how to read the cup and lacking self-assurance in his own knowledge he could only record what he was told. He did not have the confidence to brush aside his scepticism over the veracity of the claims made by his closest advisor. Whether the claims were true or not, they have nonetheless remained with the cup today. Although this information is not security critical and would not have made any difference to British India's knowledge of Tibet it does illustrate all too clearly that Bell could neither confirm or refute small fragments of information that were given to him, the kinds of details, that when recorded alongside other bodies of evidence, went some way to establishing Bell as a Tibetan expert in the eyes of the British government in India.⁷⁵

Closing the Anglo-Tibetan Archives

Kopytoff may well have awakened his readers to the notion that an object had a social life and could be valued on many levels and in multiple ways at differing stages of its life.⁷⁶ Yet in this case the inalienable qualities within an object, activated by the many people associated with it; the object's life story if you will was given short shrift by colonial officers who attempted to quantify their gift's value for administrative purposes. To try and value an object beyond its financial regimes, which needed to be sold anonymously at auction, or be redistributed at later gift exchanges, was to allow in subjectivity on the part of the officer. This was something expressly discouraged in the manual for political officers (see Chapter 4), which asked for the maintenance of the, 'disinterestedness of the English character'. To allow some acknowledgement of the personal values these gifts might hold for the receiving officer, would be to acknowledge the multiple relationships that could connect each officer to the object and also to the individual who gave it. So, to do so would be to pick apart the binding - the fixing and the settling - that kept the colonial archive and the knowledge it represented together. Within the bigger scheme of imperial things this would not do and in terms of the *tosha khana* any facade of regulation and regularity would collapse. Much easier then to value like objects against like objects, ensuring the next time a Rs.100/- 'image' was required for a gift, any still found on the *tosha khana* shelves would serve the purpose. It was then the financial accounting required of the *tosha khana* that played the instrumental part in the dehumanising of Tibetan objects. This was a conscious

⁷⁵ Another example of this uncertainty can be found in the disagreement between Achuk Tsering and Kazi Dawa Samdup over the origins of a Bhutanese *thangka*, see Bell, "Bhutan Random Notes."

⁷⁶ Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," 66-67.

dismantling of association, undertaken so as to conform to procedure. Objects that couldn't be put to future ceremonial use were deemed to be an untapped financial resource that needed to be exploited for the good of the wider colonial project. There was no place for inalienable wealth when dealing with budgets, protocols and audits.

Retaining a specific gift's biography rested on the shoulders of individual colonial officers, more often than not those who decided to buy back their gifts. As in the case of Bell, it was an officer's own record keeping that acted conceptually as a personal *tosha khana*. In a sense these personal *tosha khana* inventories were more in keeping with the original Indian and Tibetan understanding of a *tosha khana*. While the British India procedure of wiping away the memory of an object's life served its colonial purpose this ran contrary to the very essence of the *tosha khana* as understood by Tibetans and Indians who played upon the inalienable and actual wealth found within their respective *tosha khana*s to solidify their identities as great rulers and diplomats. But it seems in the case of Bell, that contrary to the lists he provided for government he chose on a personal level to collect and inventory his collection, not using British India criteria, but instead Indian or Tibetan criteria. However, in doing so Bell was indiscriminating in recording the words of those who gave the gifts to him and through his catalogue he assembled a series of mismatched objects and bound them together with fragmentary descriptions. In doing so Bell created a unified and representative whole that would later be defined as a Tibet collection; a whole created from an assortment of details, the very essence of a colonial archive.



Writing up - Bell's Post-Lhasa Life

If you want to feel that wordly ambitions + worries, matter not at all climb a Tib[eta]n mountain side + sit there awhile in the clear mountain air far from human beings, looking out over the vast, empty spaces in front of you. – Charles Bell⁶⁵⁹

Bell's exile in England and one final return 1922-1938

Bell's Himalayan life did not end in 1921, but would live on in the books he would write and the final trip he would make to Tibet with Palhese, when both men were in their sixties. But neither the Dalai Lama's nor Bell's prayers would be answered, for Bell would never again see Lhasa nor meet the Dalai Lama. Having completed his 1921 mission Bell would return almost immediately to England following a debriefing in Delhi, eventually settling with his family in a house called Edgcumbe, in Crowthorne, Berkshire. He would be knighted in 1922 for the success of his Lhasa mission and surrounded by his curios he would begin in earnest the process of turning his knowledge into publications and preparing himself for something that despite all his experiences he found quite daunting, public speaking.

The impetus to make himself a better public speaker may well have come to Bell as he sat through a talk given by Alexander Frederick Richmond (Sandy for short) Wollaston on the 15th March 1922 in Bournemouth. Wollaston was a naturalist and explorer who had returned from the first reconnaissance expedition to Mount Everest or *Chomolungma* that Bell during his time in Lhasa had gained permission from the Dalai Lama for.⁶⁶⁰ Having such a close connection

⁶⁵⁹ Bell, "Diary Volume XIX", 14th December 1934, 8.

⁶⁶⁰ See Davis, *Into The Silence*, for an incredible retelling of the expeditions and subsequent attempts on Everest in the 1920s. Bell's reluctance to broach the subject with the Dalai Lama while in Lhasa is recounted in 112-116 and 118-124.

to this event Bell was no doubt keen to attend and begin to embed himself into Himalayan circles now he was back in England, but as he recounts in his diary he was not impressed, in fact he was thoroughly disappointed.

Dr Wollaston described Tibetans as the most unattractive people he had ever met...But he does not speak Tibetan + so could not get into real touch with them. And he met mainly the most uncivilized types + those living in a very cold out-of-the-way little corner of the country.⁶⁶¹

He concluded; 'It seems a pity that false ideas should be disseminated on such unsubstantial ground'. So, while still in Bournemouth he wrote to Alexander Watson, a man who had travelled the world giving 'dramatic interpretations and recitals' asking him for lessons on public lecturing and just a few months later at the end of June, Bell travelled to London for his tutorial. Armed with his new skills, Bell began a series of lectures in 1923 testing the water first with local audiences in his home town before turning to more imposing venues including the Royal Central Asian Society, the Royal Geographical Society and several of its offshoots including those in Liverpool and Edinburgh.⁶⁶² But his main preoccupation would be writing.

Bell's diaries and notebooks, compiled over a period of twenty years were now his source material. The need for so many notebooks suddenly becomes clear; Bell appears to have decided well in advance the content of his first four books, therefore each of these future books had its own notebooks. Bell would move between each notebook, recording in, or transferring to its pages, observations and information gathered that he would later use.⁶⁶³ By cross-referencing publications with notebooks and diaries we see whole sections transferred verbatim to his books. While he does thank his British India and Tibetan colleagues by name in the prefaces and as we have seen in *Religion of Tibet* in 'Sources' their very specific contributions are often subsumed under his own authorial voice during this process. As with his lecturing style he was keen to improve himself and he was not only critical of his own style, but of that used by other writers who focussed on Tibet and the Himalaya. He read travelogues and as he did so he made notes,

⁶⁶¹ Bell, *Ibid.*, 15th March 1922, unpaginated.

⁶⁶² The Royal Geographical Society lecture would be published as, Bell, "A Year in Lhasa." The Central Asian Society lecture would be published as, Bell, "The Dalai Lama; Lhasa, 1921," 36-50.

⁶⁶³ A very obvious example are the notebooks allocated to *The People of Tibet*, which Bell marked as, *Second Book on Tibet Note Book I & II*. While planning a further six books on his return from South Tibet, Manchuria and Mongolia in 1935, Bell outlines his writing procedure in a note to self, 'Read the diaries (XVII and XVIII) and TNB 1934 Vols I & II two or three times. First read the whole through once, then read the part up to my leaving Shigatse, i.e. Gyantse the road there, 2 or 3 times. This way I may be able to give an impressionist sketch, lightly written. Afterwards, go through the whole w.[ith] the diaries & TNB 1934, just correcting mistakes. IOR, Eur Mss F80/225. *Notes for my books on Tibet.*

critiquing them or recording what techniques he liked that he could later use in his own books.⁶⁶⁴ His own attention to style and detail nevertheless rewarded him, *Tibet, Past and Present* (1924) and *The People of Tibet* (1928) were regaled with transatlantic rave reviews.⁶⁶⁵ Bell was described consistently as modest; ‘With a knowledge of his subject probably unequalled by that of any other Occidental’,⁶⁶⁶ and that, ‘It is impossible in a short review to do justice to this admirable description of the people of Tibet, written by a man who resided there for many years and who could speak to the Tibetans in their own language’.⁶⁶⁷ He was also applauded for his straight-talking analysis,

When we come to the political history of the present century we are presented with much that is not recorded outside Blue Books, along with observations which would hardly be sought in them. In fact, Sir Charles Bell writes with a refreshing candour.⁶⁶⁸

Bell had become increasingly disillusioned with the British India government as the years went by. Now in retirement, following the censorship of his first book under the Official Secrets Act, he would from then on refuse to submit his future works to the red pen of the government.⁶⁶⁹ As his books and articles progressed he became more and more critical of the British Indian government and of China and in his final articles, written days before his death in 1945 and published posthumously, he would show himself to be an impassioned supporter of the Tibetan right to full independence.⁶⁷⁰ He clearly felt a duty to the men he had known, to those he had learned from and to those he considered friends. He saw himself as an advocate for Tibet and now outside of government he used his scholarship and his standing to promote Tibet’s unique identity both through the public speaking that he did not enjoy and the writing that he worked tirelessly at. He was also keen to circulate his ideas as widely as possible in the Tibetan world and he would make a special presentation of his first book to the Dalai Lama, who would encourage the elite of Lhasa to read it.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁴ Just as Bell was about to publish *Tibet, Past and Present*, McGovern published *To Lhasa in Disguise: A Secret Expedition through Mysterious Tibet* in 1924. Ringang, one of the four Tibetan boys who had been sent for an English education at Rugby school spent a few days before Christmas with Bell and the family in 1924. They discussed the poor response to McGovern’s book in Lhasa. See, Bell, “Diary Volume 13,” 24th December 1924, unpaginated.

⁶⁶⁵ Although, there was one recorded protest over Bell’s rendering of Tibetan words, see F. W. T. Reviewed work(s), “Tibet Past and Present by Charles Bell,” 59-61.

⁶⁶⁶ Hornbeck Reviewed work(s), “Tibet, Past and Present by Charles Bell,” 827-828.

⁶⁶⁷ Shryock Reviewed work(s), “The People of Tibet by Charles Bell,” 409.

⁶⁶⁸ F.W.T. *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶⁶⁹ McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj*, 215.

⁶⁷⁰ See, Bell, “China and Tibet,” 54-57, which he wrote while in St Joseph’s hospital, Oak Bay, Vancouver Island in February 1945.

⁶⁷¹ ‘I sent the DL some three copies of my Tibet Past and Present bound of course in yellow for him...He had a copy of it translated in to Tibetan, read the translation himself, + made other Tibetans read it. Some twelve years later I heard from Sir Basil Gould our representative in Tibet at that time, that a Chinese representative in Tibet was

This post Himalayan period of Bell's life can certainly be read as his own exile, one where he was separated from the networks and places that had been so critical to his life. Consequently his diaries and notebooks become silent again as he pours his writing efforts into publication rather than accumulation. He kept the threads of his networks together by writing to his old colleagues Macdonald and Laden la, who relayed to him the latest developments and news from Tibet and the frontier.⁶⁷² In 1927 he would be reunited with Palhese (see Chapter 3) who would spend a year in England working with Bell reading cover to cover *The People of Tibet* prior to its publication and he would also make significant contributions to *Religion of Tibet*, for which one reviewer rejoiced: 'Here at last is something definitely authoritative and easily comprehensible for the general reader, sated with travellers' tales and suspicious of the fare offered by western adapters of oriental cults'.⁶⁷³ But the idea that there was more to know never left Bell and by the time he said goodbye to Palhese as he left London for Gyantse, there was already a plan for a final hurrah, one last trip to Tibet.

As Bell prepared for his trip back to Tibet in 1933 he began to put his affairs in order, noticeably he began to donate the collections that he had amassed and catalogued. Most significant of these donations would be that made to the British Museum, to whom he would give 126 objects, accompanied by the now completed *List of Curios* as reference.⁶⁷⁴ In addition he would make a donation of 80 printed or written Tibetan manuscripts.⁶⁷⁵ He would also give to the V&A, with their specific remit for art and design, a group of Bhutanese textiles received during the signing of the Punakha Treaty in 1910 and he would finally donate, the magnificent horse armour given to him by the Dalai Lama on the 18th June 1912, which he had sent to the V&A as a loan in January 1913.⁶⁷⁶

His trip to southern Tibet and Kalimpong, would see him yet again writing diaries and filling notebooks and also reaffirming his old networks, most notably with Macdonald who he stayed with for extended periods. There were many others including Rani Chonyi, the sister of Sidkyong Tulku and Tashi Namgyal and her husband Sonam Tobgye, the Bhutan agent who lived for part of the year in Bhutan House, Kalimpong and also the man he had known from his

having copies of my three books on Tibet translated into Chinese'. This book would later be published in German (1925), Chinese (1936) and Japanese (1940).

⁶⁷² See IOR, Mss Eur F80/92 and F80/97. Both Laden la and Macdonald talk of visits to England in the early 1930s, but Bell makes no record of these trips and whether they made these trips or not has yet to be ascertained.

⁶⁷³ Shuttleworth, Reviewed work(s), "The Religion of Tibet by Charles Bell," 1072-1074.

⁶⁷⁴ The idiosyncrasies of the British Museum archival system would mean that The *List of Curios* would become divorced from the curios themselves and the provenance of these curios has until now been separated from its catalogue entry in the list.

⁶⁷⁵ The object donation is accessioned under 1933.050.1-126. For the manuscript donation see, Barnett, "A Tibetan Collection of Books and Manuscripts," 12.

⁶⁷⁶ I believe he may well have sent this armour back with Jane (Jeanie) Fernie, his sister-in-law, who had been visiting the Bell's in Sikkim during that time period.

earliest days in Kalimpong the Scottish missionary Dr Graham. He and Palhese and their families would travel to Phalha territory; Gyantse and Bell would have this last opportunity to build a further photographic archive, with the majority of the photographs this time taken by Kartik Chandra Pyne, who along with his brothers owned the Kodak Studios in Kalimpong. But this trip would also bring disappointment, for as Bell sat drinking tea with Macdonald on the 19th December 1933 waiting for permission to travel to southern Tibet and Lhasa, the news came that the Dalai Lama was dead. Although Bell would be granted approval to travel as far as Shigatse, there would be no return visit to Lhasa. Instead Bell would take his wife and daughter Rongye for a tour of China, Japan, Manchuria and then Mongolia. His ability to know these parts of the world and how their current political crisis might yet have an impact on Tibet would be heavily curtailed by the politics of this volatile region and despite the suggestion that Bell was travelling in order to write a book on Mongolian Buddhism, his trip would be highly politicised. He would be refused access to areas and to people because of his high profile and his openly pro-Tibetan views. Most devastating of all would be the death of Cashie his wife of 23 years, who would die of meningitis in Beijing on the 20th September 1935, despite the many reams of notes he had written over the years, the only words he could summon up that day were, ‘Cashie died’.⁶⁷⁷

This final hurrah, would instead witness the unravelling of his Tibetan entanglements. His own precarious health suffered as a result and within a year of his return both Laden la and Palhese would be dead, and with their deaths Bell’s links to the Tibetan frontier would be irrevocably weakened.

The final word: a *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* 1939-1945

Despite repeated requests for lectures (which he increasingly turned down), a BBC Radio programme on the Dalai Lama and further ever increasingly politicised articles on Tibet and also now Mongolia Bell, unable to settle in the UK coupled with the impending Second World War and no doubt with thoughts of his health now ever present, looked to escape England. Leaving Southampton in May 1939, he arrived in another colonial outpost, this time Victoria on Vancouver Island in June 1939, telling news reporters that he had come; ‘to escape from the confusion of England’.⁶⁷⁸ He had not left everything behind, for he carried with him the notebooks and diaries that would enable him to finish his most important work, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, the first western-style ‘biography’ of a Dalai Lama. Records suggest that he initially

⁶⁷⁷ Bell, “Diary Volume XXI,” 30.

⁶⁷⁸ Boshier, *Imperial Vancouver Island: Who Was Who, 1850-1950*, 137.

moved into a house on Beach Drive, in Oak Bay overlooking the sea. His near neighbours included several retired knighted colonial officers, such as Sir Robert Erskine Holland, who Bell would ask to comment on a draft of *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*. As his health failed, he moved to The Old Charming Inn, also in Oak Bay, but by February 1945 he had been admitted to Oak Bay's St Joseph's hospital. He was now battling against time to finish, not only his pro Tibetan independence article, but his masterpiece, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* which he did just a few days before his death in March 1945.⁶⁷⁹

Concluding with Curios

...the said oriental curios shall be offered first to the British Museum and then to any other Museum who may take such of them as they may think fit *and I direct* that the explanation of such of the said curios...may be furnished from my typed volume entitled "List of Curios". – Charles Bell (his emphasis)⁶⁸⁰

Despite Bell's preoccupation with writing, his curios had not been left behind. Their recoding and re-collecting and the narratives that Bell sought to bind them with would remain part of his Canadian life and as with his mantelpiece, he would again set apart, make special and this time distill those objects that he continued to imagine his Himalayan life with (figure postscript.1). This much smaller group of objects now arranged in a photographic studio in Victoria and those particularly that sat front and centre, the Darjeeling Buddhas posed for their portrait with a talismanic quality. They had been charged with associations, imaginings and with life stories to such an extent that the powers that Bell, their re-creator, had given them were forceful enough to continue on into the present day. These were the curios that Bell not only recorded his Himalayan life through, but these would be the curios that would continue that life story after he had gone.

Bell purposely moulded the public personae of his Shakyamuni Buddhas and through his published works and by extension the *List of Curios* he created narratives of friendship, understanding and unique cultural encounters that the Buddhas made tangible. But as we have seen Bell was not the only man who had owned the Buddhas or chosen to wrap them in networks and connecting threads that later gave them their special place in Bell's collection of 'curios'. Bell, we should remember, learnt these skills from others who already knew how. It is then - in that moment that the Buddhas become networked objects - that I also find myself seduced by the multiple narratives the Buddhas have now been filled with, returning continually

⁶⁷⁹ I located Bell's grave in August 2010, he is buried at the Royal Oak Burial Park, Oak Bay, next to Cashie's remains.

⁶⁸⁰ "The Last Will and Testament of Sir Charles Alfred Bell." 14th October 1941.

to them as I have over the course of this thesis. Their abilities to make selective memories materialise guided my own abilities to think through things. Firstly by using those objects I had held in my hands and then by using those I could only reimagine through the colonial archives I had read. The route that Bell negotiated in order to fix the messages that he wanted the Buddhas to journey with has also given me the space to rethink the making of colonial knowledge and the importance of the material in that process. Reconfiguring my thoughts on the Buddhas it has been possible to question the stability of that knowledge once it was committed to the imperial archive.

Their physical presence and the very fact that I can continue to read them in this material way has inevitably allowed me to think over loss; both that from Tibet's wider material world, but more pointedly - using the archives of gift exchange and the British India *tosha khana* - the loss of an object's agentive role. Surveying the shelves of Shakyamuni Buddhas that now find themselves sitting quietly, meditatively, waiting to be reawakened in museum stores I fire off my questions to them - who made you, who did you once know, who has admired you, learnt from you, venerated you, tell me how you ended up here? But of course they look on silently, they know as well as I do that those questions can only be answered by those of us who search for their stories, beginning as is so often the case with a collector's name read on a label, or in a museum file.



FIGURE POSTSCRIPT.1

Grouping of selected 'curios' given to Bell by the Dalai Lama
 Photographer H U Knight, Victoria, 1940
 Courtesy of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs

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This study for the most part is based on English language primary sources, although some Tibetan primary sources have also been consulted. The primary source material can be divided into two major groupings, objects and archives. This research has incorporated both public and private archives and object collections in the UK and India. In addition it has been supplemented with a small number of interviews with museum colleagues and the families of those who worked with Charles Bell.

Public Archives

Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamshala, HP, India

British Museum, London, UK

Collection of Charles Alfred Bell
 Bequest of Charles Alfred Bell
 Royal Loan of HRH George V, 1913

India Office Records, British Library, London, UK

European Manuscripts

Mss Eur F80	The Bell Collection
Mss Eur F157	The Bailey Collection
Mss Eur G62	Delhi Durbar, 1911 Papers

Political and Secrets Department

L/PS/10	Political and Secret Subject Files
L/PS/11	Political and Secret Annual Files
L/PS/12	Political and Secret (External Files) Files and Collections
L/PS/15	
L/PS/20	Selected Political and Secret Library
R/2	
V/10	
V/23	
V/27	

Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamshala, HP, India

Tibetan Manuscript Section

Tharchin Papers

Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim, India

National Archives of India, New Delhi, India

Foreign and Political Department Proceedings, Secret-External, A and B
 Foreign and Political Department Indexes
 Foreign and Political Department Establishment
 Foreign and Political Department General
 Foreign and Political Department Internal

National Museums Liverpool, UK

Collection of Frederick Marshman Bailey
Collection of Charles Alfred Bell
Collection of John Claude White
Collection of Francis Younghusband
Curatorial Correspondence (1898 – Present)

Oriental Museum, Durham University, UK

Hardinge Collection of Chinese Jades

Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, UK

Manuscript Collections

Collection of Charles Alfred Bell
Collection of David Macdonald

Public Record Office, London, UK

British Foreign Office

Foreign and Political Department Proceedings

Sikkim State Archive, Gangtok, Sikkim, India

Department of Education
Department of Darbar
Department of Finance
Department of General Secretary
Department of Land Revenue

Royal Society for Asian Affairs, London, UK

Charles Alfred Bell Papers

Royal Palace Archives, Gangtok, Sikkim, India

Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A), London, UK

Collection of Charles Alfred Bell
Royal Loan of George V, 1913

Private Archives

I am eternally grateful to the following families for generous access to their family papers, photographs and information;

Charles Bell Family, UK

David Macdonald Family, India and UK

Sonam Wangfel Laden La Family, UK

Achuk Tsering Family, India

Densapa Family, India

Das Studios, Darjeeling, India

Kodak Studios, Kalimpong, India

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Appendix 1

The *List of Curios*

The *List of Curios* is an unpublished collection catalogue that includes a significant number (392), but not all of the 460 objects now known to have been in Bell's collection. The process of compiling this document began in 1912-13, but there were several additional groups of entries, some added as late as 1928. This document was deposited at the British Museum in 1933, along with Bell's donation and a further copy was donated to Liverpool Museum in 1950. While the catalogue was separated from the collection at the British Museum it continues to be fundamental to the interpretation and cataloguing of the collection at National Museums Liverpool.

Bell's original text, which formed his typed *List of Curios* can be seen in italics. I follow Bell's ordering system, but my annotations, which formed the primary research for this thesis, can also be seen here. I have reconnected the extant objects - now in National Museums Liverpool, the British Museum, the V&A and several private collections - to their respective records. Wherever possible I have included photographs. One outcome of this primary research is that the National Museums Liverpool's Charles Bell collection can now be seen at <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/ethnology/charles-bell.aspx> a relational database that I created and populated with the help of colleagues in the Web Development department at NML.

No. 1



Object Name:	Ritual plaited scarf
Described by:	Barmiok Lama
Made by:	Ninth Panchen Lama
Given by:	Sidkyong Tulku
Place Made:	Tashi Lhunpo Monastery
Place Collected:	Gangtok
Date Made:	Before December 1912
Date Collected:	Before December 1912
Location:	Unknown

Red silk loop ending in a plait of yellow with patches of green and red. Given by the Tashi Lama to Maharaj -Kumar of Sikkim and by the latter to me. It is called (ཤུང་ཕུ་དུ་) pur-du i.e. "the knotted devil dagger". It is given by Lamas of higher to those of lower rank as a protection against evil spirits. To ordinary Lamas a pur-du of yellow silk is given; to those of high rank, a pur-du of red silk. The presenting Lama when tying the plait, which is supposed to represent a devil dagger (pur-pa) recites incantations. The yellow plait itself is also called pur-du and the red knot just above it is called Dorje Du-pa i.e. "the Knotted Dorje". The name pur-du is used by Lamas. Laymen called the knot and plait together sung-du (སུང་ཕུ་དུ་) "the protecting knot", the honorific term for this latter being (ཇུང་ཕུ་དུ་) Ja-du i.e. "the knotted tongue". The reason for the latter Barmiok Lama believes to be that the tongue produces the incantations, which give the thing its power.

No. 2



Object Name: Ritual Incense Burner

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: No Record

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before December 1912

Date Collected: Before December 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933, 0508.1

Brass head with open mouth, tongue projecting, upper teeth showing. It represents the face of a god called Sa-che Dorje Kandro (མཚན་རྟོ་རྒྱལ་འཕྲུལ་འཕྲུལ་འཕྲུལ་) "The devouring Thunderbolt that moves in the sky." Live charcoal (where this is not procurable, burning yak dung) is put into the mouth, and the Lama takes some til seed (procured from India) in his hand. He mutters incantations and puts the til into the fire, and by so doing, believes that the sins of the person, for whom he is praying, are removed, as a thing is consumed by fire. The Lama may do this either for his own sins, or for somebody, who has called him in for the purpose. The five heads on the forehead are called To-kam (ཐོ་ཁམ་) i.e. "dry skulls", these indicate that the god has conquered all the passions. To-kam are placed over the face, when the latter is an angry one. When the face is a calm one, five images, called Ri-nga (རི་ང་) "Five Kinds" are placed instead of the To-kam.

No. 3



Object Name: Ritual dagger or *phurba*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: No Record
 Place Collected: No Record
 Date Made: Before December 1912
 Date Collected: Before December 1912
 Location: British Museum, 1933, 0508.2

Devil-dagger of brass with iron point, and beads at top. The general name for all these devil-daggers is Pur-pa (ཕུར་པ་). Those with three faces on the top, like the present one, are called Tso -pur (ཅོ་ཕུར་) i.e. "the Principle Pur-pa." The Pur-pa with one face only or a knot on the top, is called Le-pur "The Pur-pa for work," or Dap-pur (དཔ་ཕུར་) "The Pur-pa which knocks down", and these latter two kinds of Pur-pa are used for killing devils.

No. 4

Object Name: Hand cymbal or *ting shag*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: No Record

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before 1912

Date Collected: Before 1912

Location: Unknown

A piece of horn joined by string to a piece of bell metal shaped something like a saucer, called Ting-sha (ཉིང་ཤ་གཤམ་) colloquially and ting-ting-sha in books, from the sound of the bell "ting ting". Sometimes the striker, as well as the bell itself, is made of bell-metal. Used in various religious ceremonies, e.g. when giving food to Yi-daks, this ting-sha is sounded to summon the Yi-daks to the meal.

No. 5



Object Name: Lime Box or *trimi*
Described by: Achuk Tsering
Place Made: Bhutan
Place Collected: No Record (possibly Punakha Treaty Signing, 1910)
Date Made: Before 1912
Date Collected: Before 1912
Location: Unknown

Brass vessel, perforated with dragon on top and tashi-tagye on lower half, Used for keeping miscellaneous articles, especially betel leaf (pan) and betel nut. Used chiefly by Bhutanese.

No. 6



Object Name: Telescopic long horn or *ra dung*

Described by: Achuk Tsering

Place Made: Gyantse: Sitong Monastery

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before 1912

Date Collected: Before 1912

Location: Private Collection

A pair of long trumpets 10' 5" long given me by Maharaja of Sikkim. These trumpets are known as Trung-chen "Great Trumpet" or Trung-mar "Red Trumpet". They were first introduced into Tibet in Ugyen Rim-po-che's time, when the Sam-ye Monastery was being built. It is used for calling the gods. This pair of trumpets was made at the Si-tong Monastery, in Tibet, one day's journey from Gyangtse. Sam-ye Monastery was built 1162 years ago according to Tibetan, and a little less according to Chinese calculations.

No.7

Object Name: *Thangka* of Padmasambhava

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: Before December 1912

Location: Private Collection

Tibetan scroll. Seated figure with right hand raised; four small figures by side, 6 small figures underneath; canopy with small figure in it overhead. The seated figure is Padma-Sambhava. He is seated in the palace of a demon-kingdom, a mountain named Sang-do Pe-ri, "The glorious copper coloured mountain." He took away the mind (མཆེད་པོ་) of the demon-king by incantations, and thus the demon-king died and the saint took up his abode in his palace. The name of this country is Nga-yap, one of the three divisions of the world (Dzam-bu-ling), the other two divisions being "Lho Dzambuling" in the middle and "Nga-yap-shen" on the left hand. On each side of the saint are his wives, that on the right being Men-dha-Ra-wa (མེན་ཏ་ར་ལ་ཡ་) the daughter of the king of Sabor, a country to the northwest of India. The one on the left of the saint is I-she-Tso-gye (ཨ་ཤེ་ཙོ་གཡེ་) whose father lived at Dra, 1 1/2 days journey from Lhasa. When she was born, a lake formed about 1/2 mile from the house. A drop of blood from her umbilical cord (མུ་ལུ་) fell on the ground and from it sprouted a sandelwood tree (tsenden) which still exists. The eight small figures round are the avatars of the saint, and named, beginning from the left, (next to the daughter of the king of Sabor) Seng-ge Dadrok, Nyima Oser, Lo-den Chok-se, Pejung Yapyum (ཤེ་ཤུང་ཡཡུམ་) PadmaSambhava, Pema-gye-po, Sha-kye-Seng-ge (ཤ་ཀེ་སེང་གེ་), Dorje- Tro-lo (རྡོ་རྗེ་ཏྭ་ལོ་) The first of the above appeared in India, the last in Bhutan. The last lived in a cave near the Pa-ro Ta-tsang monastery in Bhutan, and used to ride on a tiger, as represented in the picture; the red marks on the top representing flames, as he used to be often surrounded by flames. The green circles around the heads of Padma Sambhava and his avatars represent rainbow halos. In the canopy above the saint's head is a figure of O-pa-me "Boundless Light". On the left of the saint and inside the circle are five or six male figures dancing for him, on the right, female figures similarly dancing. Directly below the wheel, which is below the saint, is the King of the East, standing in the eastern door of the palace as its gatekeeper. A little to the left, with a blue face is the king of the south; to the right the king of the north. The king of the west is not represented as he is on the other side of the palace. To the side of the king of the east are 4 goddess (Lha-mo) The one on the extreme left carries water in a conch shell for the saint's ablutions, next to the right, one with a mirror in her right hand, which

she holds up before the saint, as required. Next to the right (on the other side of the King of the east) is a goddess with a pair of cymbals, who regales the saint with music. The fourth's duty is to offer fruit to the saint; she holds a fruit in her right hand. There should be a fifth goddess holding clothes for the saint, but there being no room in the picture, the artist has placed these clothes in the left hand of this fourth figure. Below in caves in the side of the mountain are two hermits; the one on the left is blowing a trumpet, the one on the right is holding a damaru (cho-dam) i.e. a kind of rattle. Down below again is the god Tam-drin (ཏམ་དྭན་པ་) who is represented by various figures, the present one being Tam-drin Sang-drup (ཏམ་དྭན་པ་སང་རྒྱུད་) who is king of the water serpents, (Lu or Indian Naga) having a human head and a serpent's body. The dark figure in the middle of the bottom of the picture is the king of the demons, to whom the palace belonged. His name is Lang-ka Drin-chu (ལང་ཀ་དྭན་ཅུ་). The figures round are his ministers and their servants; the latter are offering the former human hearts to eat. In the right hand bottom corner a demon's servant holds a large stone to break up a body, from which the head has been severed, in order to take the heart out of it. Just above this is one of the minister's houses roofed in human skulls and ribs. By the king is a river with two lu in it. The reason why the saint came to this palace was that the demons were massacring the people around. Having destroyed the demon king, the saint made the demons to regard him as their king and to cease from their evil practices. Two white figures on the right and left middle of the pictures holding scimitars. These are dancing on rainbows for the saint. Above these two are on each side 2 Cho-kyongs. Above these outside the large central halo are goddesses and heroes (pao) who are dancing for the saint or making offerings to him. On the top line of the large central halo are three figures known as Rim-sum gom-po (རིམ་སུམ་གོམ་པོ་) the left one is Jam-pe-yang, the middle one is Chen-re-zi and the right one Channa Dorje. In the middle of the very top are the figures of the past (left) present (in the middle) and Future (on the right) Buddhas (བླ་མ་གསུམ་པོ་འཇམ་དཔལ་འཛོམས་པོ་). The past Buddha is known as Mar-me-Dze (མར་མེ་དཛེ) the present Buddha is Sa-kyā tup-pa alias Gotama and the future Buddha is known as Gye-wa Cham-pa (རྒྱེ་ཡེ་ཇམ་པ་) "The King of Love", known in Hindi as Maitreya Buddha. The figure in the top left hand corner is Dorje Sem-pa (རྡོ་རྗེ་སེམ་པ་). His chief duty is to alleviate the sufferings of animals. The figure in the top right hand corner is Je Tsun Dro-ma Kar-po, the goddess of long life. Prayers are offered to her by men and women for long life and for children.

No.8

Object Name: Ritual dagger or *phurba*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before December 1912

Date Collected: Before December 1912

Location: Likely to be British Museum, 1933,0508.52

Brass devil dagger (Tso -pur) with iron point without arms. At the bottom of the brass portion is the head of a Chu-sin (ཆུ་སྒྲིག), i.e a crocodile. The horses head on the top signifies that this Tso-pur is dedicated to the god Tam-drin. Otherwise this Tso-pur is similar to No. 3.

No.9

Object Name: Set of *serkyem* vessels

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before December 1912

Date Collected: Before December 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933, 0508.15-18

Four pieces all of copper, (a) ewer called *Cham-ma Phum-pa* (ཇམ་མ་ཕུམ་པ་) (b) shaped something like a wineglass called *Pu-kyok* (ཕུ་ཀྱོག་) i.e. "The ladle for the first fruits"; (c) a plate called *Pe-der* (པེ་དེར་) i.e. "The lotus plate", many being carved like a lotus; (d) vessel with lid; German silver on the top and rims. Called *Ne-se* (ནེ་སེ་) "The Barley bowl". Beer or tea is poured from the *Cham-ma Phum-pa* into the *Pu-kyok* and prayers are recited, while doing so. When the prayers are finished, the beer or tea is carried out of the house, monastery or chapel and poured out on the side of the hill or on the roof of the house. Beer is used for some deities and saints; e.g. *Chen-re-zi* and *Drol-ma Kar-mo*. In *Gelukpa* monasteries beer may never be used. For deities not entitled to the *Pu-kyok* ceremony, the beer or tea is poured into the *Pu-kyok* and allowed to overflow into the *Pe-der* and eventually thrown onto the ground outside. In the *Ne-se* rice or barley is sometimes kept and this is added to the tea or beer in the *Pu-kyok*, while reciting the prayers. The above food and drink is offered to gods and goddesses to accompany prayers on all subjects; e.g. before a man starts on a journey, before a boy goes in for an examination. The whole ceremony is known as *Ser-kyem* (ཤར་ཀྱེམ་) "The Golden Beverage".

No.10



Object Name: Statue of Lhamo Maksorma

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before December 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.62

Brass figure riding on a mule with a brass background of horse-shoe shape. The Lama says it looks like Lha-Mo Mak-sor-ma (ལ་མོ་མཚ་སོར་མ་) a gelukpa deity of war. In his right hand he holds a sword; in his left a trident (ka-tram) and a begging bowl. The horse-shoe background represents flames and indicates the fierce nature of the deity. See also the figure of Tam-drin in the scroll (No. 7) These flames, called Me-ri, are placed only by the fierce (trak-po) deities.

No. 11



Object Name: Hanging Incense Burner

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet.

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Late 19th – Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.72

Brass incense bowl, hung from three brass chains joined to a brass dragon. Fire and incense is put inside the bowl, which is carried about through the house, chapel or monk's assembly room etc. In order to spread the scent. The house and the souls of the inmates are thereby purified and the deities also like the scent. It is offered all the time while religious ceremonies are in progress. Incense is made from cedars, cypresses etc.

No. 12



Object Name: Ritual drinking flask or *phütib*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet.

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Late 19th – early 20th century

Date Collected: Before December 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.14

Gilt ewer with figures of dragon on each side. A Cham-ma Pum-pa, see No. 9.

No. 13



Object Name: The Diamond Cutter Sutra

Described by: Kazi Dawa Samdup

Place Made: No Record

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before December 1912

Date Collected: Before 31st December 1912

Location: Unknown

Small book with red wooden cover and gilt lettering. A prayerbook for use by all Lamaists, whether Gelupkas, Nyingmapas, or others. It is known as Dor-je Cho-pa (གཏུར་པ) "The thunderbolt that cuts off (sin or sorrow)". This is one of many kinds of prayer-book. The gilt lettering is made as follows:- gold is ground down into very fine dust. The paper is blackened with a mixture of indigo, ink and sheep's brains. The gold is mixed with a kind of glue (tin-chu) and heated and applied to the pen with a brush and then written on to the paper. (Per. K. Dausamdub) It is really a dialogue between Buddha and Rab-jor (Su-bhuta).

No. 14



Object Name: Folding table or *choktse*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Place Collected: No Record
 Date Made: Late 19th – early 20th century
 Date Collected: Before 31st December 1912
 Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.49

Tibetan table with a dragon in front and painted red, yellow, etc. Used as a table by all, priests and laymen.

No. 15



Object Name: Set of eating utensils or *gya tri*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before December 1912

Date Collected: Before 31st December 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.50a-d

Chopsticks. The knife is called Gya-tri and the sticks are called ko-we-tse. Used by men.

No. 16



Object Name: Set of eating utensils or *gya tri*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Place Collected: No Record
 Date Made: Early 20th century
 Date Collected: Before 31st December 1912
 Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.33

Ditto smaller, used by women.

No. 17

Object Name: Prayer Wheel or *mani lag kbor*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Early 20th centuryDate Collected: Before 31st December 1912

Location: Unknown

Prayer wheel with wooden handle. Tibetans call these Ma-ni lak-kor i.e "Prayer wheels carried in the hand". To be turned the same way as the hands of a watch. "Om Mani Padme Hun" is written is written in gilt letters around it; the letters are not very clear. Inside the cylinder is placed a roll of prayers which usually consist merely of "Om Mani Padme Hun" but sometimes also of mystic hymns and prayers for washing away sins or removing difficulties. The wheel should be turned rather slowly. The weight is of lead. Those professing the Bon religion use prayer wheels, but have different prayers in them and turn them the other way round.

No. 18

Object Name: Prayer Wheel or *mani lag khor*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Early 20th centuryDate Collected: Before 31st December 1912

Location: Private Collection

Prayer wheel with wooden handle. Tibetans call these Ma-ni lak-kor i.e "Prayer wheels carried in the hand". To be turned the same way as the hands of a watch. "Om Mani Padme Hun" is written in gilt letters around it; the letters are not very clear. Inside the cylinder is placed a roll of prayers which usually consist merely of "Om Mani Padme Hun" but sometimes also of mystic hymns and prayers for washing away sins or removing difficulties. The wheel should be turned rather slowly. The weight is of lead. Those professing the Bon religion use prayer wheels, but have different prayers in them and turn them the other way round.

No. 19

Object Name: Ritual conch shell or *tring*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before December 1912

Date Collected: Before 31st December 1912

Location: Unknown

Conch, called Tring, used for calling monks to prayer. Used also in the worship of the mild (shi-pe) deities. When the conch is used in worship, it is accompanied by bells and not by drums. Conches, flutes and small cymbals are used for mild deities; large cymbals, drums, thigh bone trumpets and long trumpets for fierce deities. The conches turning the other way are very rare and highly valued. Those which the Barmiok Lama have seen, were too small to be of much use for blowing. When used for calling monks to prayer, two monks each blow a conch first to the east, then south, then west, then north. This is the Nying-ma and Kar-gyu custom at any rate. Whether the Gelukpas also follow in this order, the Lama does not know.

No. 20



Object Name: Photograph of the thirteenth Dalai Lama

Photography by: Charles Bell / Rabden Lepcha

Painted by: Tsotra Namgyal

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Darjeeling / Kalimpong

Place Collected: Gangtok

Date Made: Around 1910

Date Collected: Before 1st January 1913

Location: Private Collection

Photograph of Dalai Lama painted by Maharaja of Sikkim's eldest son at Tra-ring. The canopy over the head has no special significance. It is merely for appearance: its religious name is ba-tre (corrected from ta-tre), colloquially bab-tre (བཅའ་བུ) i.e "What is spread above". Its lay name is nam-yol (ནང་ལོ་ལྷ་མོ) "The curtain of heaven." The yellow hat is believed to have been worn originally by pandits in India and is known as "The Pandit's Hat with long ear covers" and is worn only by Lamas of great learning; among the Gelukpas the Dalai Lama, Tashi Lama, Ganden Ti Rimpoche and a very few others are alone allowed to wear to wear this hat. The fur braid of the silk coat is from an animal found in China, and not in Tibet. The white silk cloth below is known as Dorje Gya tram "The crossed thunderbolts" and the seat is known as "Dorje Ti", "The thunderbolt throne". The yellow marks in the four corners are swastikas (Tibetan "yung trung") which are interpreted as signs of immutability. The golden bottle to the right is empty. By ordinary Lamas such vessels, made of silver, copper etc. were formerly used to hold water for rinsing out the mouth after meals, nowadays after a gathering of the monks for worship etc. the Cho-trum-pa pretends to pour water into the hands of the monks, the vessel being really empty. They hold their hands to their mouths and pretend to drink and then go out. Thus it is in fact a sign of dismissal of the meeting. The golden bowl below the bottle is originally a grain bowl. Some grain is put into it to keep it from falling over. The cloth with coloured squares has no particular meaning. It is for appearance only. The silk cloth against the seat, behind the back, known as "The curtain for the back" (gyap-yol) is a sign of high rank. The inscription means "The great thirteenth Dalai Lama in succession by the Prophecy of Buddha, Immutible Wielder of the Thunderbolt, Victorious and Mighty".

No. 21



Object Name: Thangka of Shakyamuni Buddha

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Private Collection

Tibetan scroll enclosed in rectangles of red, yellow, and blue silks, with coloured patterns on these silks. In the middle is Gautama Buddha with begging bowl in left hand and food in the bowl. The right hand hangs down in the "earth pressing" (sa-non) position, as a sign that he is subduing the devils. His hair is blue, his eyes and ears are exceptionally long to show that he is different from other human beings. In the forehead between the eyebrows is a tuft of white hair, which on Gautama was curved round and round like the rings on a conch-shell. Gautama's tongue was so long that he could reach the top of his forehead and his ears with it. This was known as the "Thunderbolt Tongue" (Dorje Ja) and enabled him to read and understand immediately books which others could not do within 20 or 30 days. His hands and toes were webbed like those of a swan up to their middle joints, as his father had before him. His eyes and ears lengthened after he attained Buddhahood. Round him are the six supporters of his chair (1) the Garuda bird (kyung), (2) a lu, a kind of snake. Sometimes the Shang-shang (ཤང་ཤང་), a creature with the tail of a snake and sometimes represented with the wings of a bird, but otherwise like a human being is represented instead of a lu. (3) A Chusing, mythological water animal; (4) then a man sitting on an animal, which the Lama does not recognise, but says come from India, (5) a Seng-ge or Lion (6) then an elephant. Below are two lions (Seng-ge). There are 8 lions altogether below the chair; 2 below each of its four sides. The chair is covered with lotus flowers, presented by blue pointed ellipses, in the centre one being a wheel, which shows that his religion will pass over the earth as a wheel over the ground, and that as a bullock is able to carry a large load by means of a wheeled cart, so Buddha brings many persons to salvation. At the foot of the chair on each side is a disciple of Buddha. Below are the Ri-sum-Gom-po, Jampeyang (left), Chenrezig (centre), and Chana Dorje (right). These are the protectors of the three tribes or kinds, the first being like a jewel, the 2nd like a lotus, and the last like a thunderbolt. There are altogether 5 kinds, the other two being le (ལེ) which the Hindu karma, and Sang-gye or Buddhahood. On the top left hand corner of the chair is "Green Dolma" and on the right a god named "Mi yo-wa. These two figures as well as the "Three Protectors" are not necessary in a picture of Buddha, they are put in because the man, who ordered the painting has faith especially (te-pa) in these deities and worships them frequently. In the top left hand corner of the picture are the god (red and on top) and the two goddesses of long life to whom the owner of the picture will pray for long life. The goddesses are the two wives of the god. On the top in the middle are, Tsong-ka-pa and two of his disciples. In the top right hand corner is Padma Sambhava, and just below him his two wives. In the

bottom left hand corner is the god of wealth, nam-to-se (མཎ་ཏོ་སེ) in the centre is Tam-drin (see No 7) and the other three are deities who guard the foundations of religion. The owner of the picture was evidently a Gelukpa , as the deities and lamas represented are those of the yellow hat sect. The flowers, leaves etc. round the picture are merely for ornament.

No. 22

Object Name: *Thangka* of Chenrezi or Avalokiteshvara

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before 6th January 1913

Location: Unknown

Tibetan scroll. In centre Chenrezi, the god of whom the Dalai Lama is a reincarnation. On his head and again higher above him, above the jewel surrounded by flames, is ö-pa-me (Amitabha) 'The immeasurable light' of which the Tashi Lama is the incarnation. The relative positions of the two show that Chenrezi is inferior to ö-pa-me; i.e the Tashi Lama is from a spiritual standpoint the superior of the Dalai Lama, though the latter ranks above the former in worldly rank, owing to his having been given higher rank by a former Emperor of China. (Note, the Barmiok Lama is of the Nying-ma sect and therefore presumably impartial on this point.) This representation of Chenrezi gives him four hands and is known as Dro-dül Cha-shi-pa (འཇོ་འདུལ་བླ་མ་ཤི་པ་) 'The Four Handed One who converts the Sentient Beings.' The blue round his body represents rays of light emanating from his body; the red of horse-shoe shape outside this blue, shows the rainbow in which he is seated. In two hands he holds a jewel, which gives him the power of rescuing all beings from their sufferings. By the string of beads held in another hand he draws upward to salvation the six classes of beings. The six classes are: (1) Those in hell (nyal-wa) (2) The Yi-das (3) Animals except man (tön-dro) (4) Human beings (5) Lha-ma-yin (Hindu Asuras) (6) Gods (lha). In the other hand he holds a lotus, as a symbol of himself. For as a lotus sprung from mud, but has no mud on it, so Chenrezi came from this world but has no worldiness in him. The ornaments round his neck, wrists, shoulders, ankles etc. show that he is still in the world; i.e he is 'in the world but not in the world.' On his right is Jam-pe-yang, on his left (blue figure in flames) is Cha-na Dor-je. Just below Chenrezi to his left (the right looking at the picture) is his wife, Yum-Yi-ge Truk-ma, and on his right, correspondingly, is his son, Nor-pu Dzim-pa 'The holder of the Jewel.' This Jewel is similar to that held in Chenrezi's hands. Below again a yellow figure, is Brahma and to the right of it a white figure, is Indra, whom the Barmiok Lama calls the 'King of the Gods' (Lha-i Gyal-po.) Brahma is offering to Chenrezi the 'Golden Wheel with a thousand spokes', meaning 'Please turn the wheel of religion.' Indra offers him a right-handed conch, (most conches turn the other way, and therefore a right handed conch is held in high esteem) saying 'Please preach the religion to us and to all beings.' Gautama after six years' meditation attained salvation, but at first did not preach. So seven weeks after he attained salvation (some books say one week) Brahma and Indra appeared to him at Bodh gaya and asked him to preach. Gautama then went to Benares and commenced preaching there. Below these again are gelongas with shaved heads, and goddesses making offerings of fruit etc. playing cymbals, flutes and other musical instruments. Among them is one with a horse's head, green playing a guitar (རྒྱུ་རྩ་) dram-nyen. This is the King of Tri-sa (རྩ་ས) who is the most accomplished of all persons on this instrument. At the centre of the bottom of the picture is green Drölma who removes from all sentient beings the 8 kinds of fear; viz, fear of fire, of water, of earthquake, of King (i.e of the person, who can inflict punishment), of poisonous snakes, of robbers, of elephants, and of lions. She and Chenrezi live on the same mountain, said to be in the south of India and not far from China. The mountain is called Ri-wo Thru-dzin by Tibetans and Po-tra-la by Indians. Chenrezi lives above and Drölma below. The Dalai Lama being an incarnation of Chenrezi, his place in Lhasa is known as Potala. On each side of Drölma is a Chö-kyong a 'Guardian of the Religion'. The one on a mule in the left hand corner is Marsolma who the other (blue) is, the Lama is not sure. Close to Drölma on each side of her are two attendants. In the bottom right hand corner is a woman going on pilgrimage. Near the

top of the picture on the left is another representation of Chenrezi with open palm indicating that he gives water to the Yidas. Near him is a boat on a lake; this has no particular meaning; it is merely to beautify the picture. On the corresponding right hand side of the picture is Göm-po Cha-truk-pa, 'The six handed protector', one of the Guardians of the Faith. He (blue) is in his palace (red). which is built of human and animals' bones and skulls. Skins of human beings and animals (represented in white) are used as curtains by him. At the top of the picture are two groups of goddesses, who are playing musical instruments. They have descended from the sky to Chenrezi; the others in the picture have come to him from the earth; they live always on earth in sacred places, ne (གླུ) but are visible only to the holiest lamas. Round Chenrezi's neck is the skin of an Indian animal known in Tibetan as tinasara. It is said to be a merciful animal, for instance if a fly enters its ears, it abstains from shaking them for fear of killing it. Chenrezi wears its skin as a sign of his mercifulness.

No. 23



Object Name: Pair of enamel tins

Described by: Barmiok Lama
Given by: Shatra, Shokang and Tekang

Place Made: China
Place Collected: Gangtok

Date Made: 19th century
Date Collected: Around 17th October 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.34a&b

A pair of Tibetan luncheon tins. Blue enamel on copper representing pictures of flowers, fruits, tashi, Tagye etc. A good deal broken in transit from Lhasa. Presented to me by the Lön-chens when my baby (Arthur) was born. Used by Tibetans as fruit dishes, also for serving picnic lunches etc. Made in China and rare in Tibet.

No. 23 (duplicate)



Object Name: Pair of enamel tins
Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese Tutor
Place Made: China
Place Collected: No Record
Date Made: 20th century
Date Collected: Before 24th March 1913
Location: Unknown

A pair of enamelled copper tins, 15" in diameter. One has 4, the other 3 fittings into each other. Of modern workmanship. Used by Chinese ladies on their toilet tables, for keeping ornaments, face powder, etc.etc.

No. 24



Object Name: *Thangka* of Dorje Sempa or Vajrasattva
 Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet
 Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: 18th-19th century
 Date Collected: Before 8th January 1913

Location: Private Collection

Tibetan scroll. Same as 22, except that near the bottom right hand corner is a figure (white) of Dor-je Sem-pa, who 'cleanses from sin,' (ཐཱ་ཤེན་པ་མཆོག་) His figure is here inserted because he is one of the deities, to whom the owner of the picture prays.

No. 25



Object Name: Pair of butter lamps or *chö me*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: Before 8th January 1913

Location: Unknown

A pair of copper lamps for burning butter in temples. Placed on the altar. Known as Chö-me, 'Religious Fire', or Mar-me 'Butter Fire'. Worshippers offer money or butter to the monasteries to be spent in these butter lamps; by burning butter, in which a small wick is placed, in them. The primary idea of these lamps is to provide light for the gods, although it is known that gods require no light, for they can see in the darkness, by means of the light of their own bodies. But the offerer believes that after his death he will have to go sometimes in darkness until his rebirth and that the lamps he now offers will be used to light him at those times. Similarly also these lamps are offered as food to the gods. The offering of them is usually accompanied by prayers, especially for the dead.

No. 26

Object Name: Conch shell trumpet or *dung kar*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: Before 8th January 1913

Location: Unknown

A conch with wing of silver, engraved with a dragon and flower, and with corals, turquoises and pieces of coloured glass round the edge. Known as tung-shok, 'Conch-wing' used for the same purpose as an ordinary conch; see No. 19.

No. 27

Object Name: Papier mâché hat worn by tulkus or *thang zhu*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: Before 8th January 1913

Location: Unknown

Yellow hat made of cotton cloth and paper, made in China. On top 4 pyramids rising to a common apex. Broad circular brim. Worn by avatar lamas (tru-ku) and other lamas who have won great respect (tsen-chem-po) worn out of doors only. Known as Tang-shu (ཐང་ཤུ) or Nam-ka Rab-jam (འཇམ་རབ་ཇམ་) 'knowledge as deep as the sky'.

No. 28



Object Name: Oil lamp
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Given by: Sidkyong Tulku
 Place Made: Sikkim / Nepal
 Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok
 Date Made: Unknown
 Date Collected: Before 8th January 1913
 Location: Unknown

A pair of brass lamps with small brass saucers on top, whose handles are shaped something like an erect cobra. Oil and wick are put in the saucer. If the oil drops over, it drops into the larger receptacle below. Mustard oil, not butter, is burnt in these lamps, butter lamps being used for religious purposes only. Also butter would be liable to freeze in the Tibetan winter in this lamp, because the wick projects to the outside, whereas in the Chö-me (see No. 25) the wick is in the middle of the butter which keeps it fairly warm.

No. 29



Object Name: Statuette of Mandarava
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Place Collected: No Record
 Date Made: Unknown
 Date Collected: Before 8th January 1913
 Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.57

A small image 3 1/2 inches high including pedestal, of brass. This is Men-Dha-Ra-wa, one of the two wives of Padma Sambhava. See No. 7 page 4. The left hand holds a skull, in which she is offering wine to Padma Sambhava. She wears a headdress of precious stones, (rimpo-che) known as Ri-nga (རི་ང་). The mild (shi-wa) gods and goddesses wear this headdress; the fierce (trak-po) gods and goddesses wear the headdress of "Dry Skulls" see No. 2 page 1.

No. 30



Object Name: Statue of Tse pa me or Amitayus

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: 17th – 18th century

Date Collected: Before 8th January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.56

Reference: PRM Bell collection photograph 1998.286.152 shows this figure in the centre. The photographs description reads, 'Three Buddha figures given to Sir Charles Bell by the Dalai Lama'. Photograph is also recorded as being taken in 1920-21, during Lhasa Mission. Possibly photographed much earlier. Photographed in a studio or museum like manner with a makeshift plain background assembled out of sheets of crepe (or daphne) paper.

A copper image of Tse-pa-me (ཅེ་པ་མེ) "Immeasurable Life", 41/2 inches high, including pedestal. In his hand he holds the tse-pum (ཅེ་པུམ་) "Jar of Life". In this is the Chi-me Dütsi (འཛི་མེ་དུ་ཤི་བྱི་) the nectar that confers immortality, literally the "Deathless Juice" that conquers the Devils". People pray to Tse-pa-me for long life. On the head is the Ri-nga headdress. On the top of the back of the head is the hair coiled up. He is seated on a lotus. He is seated crossed legged with the soles of his feet turned upwards. This keeps the sinews in proper position and is the correct position for meditation. Devout persons sit in this posture for some time every day. The Lama has, when at Bodh Gaya, seen the Japanese and Ceylonese priests sitting in this posture.

No. 31



Object Name: Statue of Chenrezi or Avalokiteshvara

Given by: Sidkyong Tulku

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: No Record

Date Made: 18th -19th century

Date Collected: Before 8th January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.61

Reference: Along with No.32, it is possible that this figure was also given as a wedding present by Sidkyong Tulku, which would make the date of collection around 15th January, 1912.

Tibet catalogue 1953, Pg 9, No 7

A Copper gilt image of Chenrezi, 4 armed, seated cross legged on a lotus, with soles of feet pointing upwards. Height including pedestal 6 1/2 inches. The rosary is missing from the extreme right hand and the lotus from the extreme left hand. See No. 22. This image was given me by the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim.

No. 32



Object Name: Statue of Shakyamuni Buddha

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Given by: Sidkyong Tulku

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Calcutta or Gangtok

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: Around 15th January 1912

Location: Unknown

Copper gilt image of Gautama Buddha, seated on a moon on a lotus 8 1/2 inches high. All mild deities etc. Sit, stand etc. On a moon, and the fierce deities etc. Sit, stand etc. On a sun. The Barmiok Lama thinks this image a good one, because it is old and of good workmanship, and the old images have been sanctified by Lamas of such holiness as are not often met with nowadays. The workmanship is good in that details e.g on the soles of the feet, the borders of the robe etc. are carved in accurately and neatly. In inferior work the impressions made by the hammer and the file will show on the image. The begging bowl is of copper and comparatively new. Until he attained Buddhahood, Gautama did not sit in this posture or do his hair in this way; thus this image represents him having attained Buddhahood. The jewel on the top of his head is a symbol showing that 'as a jewel is a rare thing and is of advantage to its possessor so the attributes of Buddha are rare and of advantage to their possessors' (thus says the Barmiok Lama). Given me by the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim as a wedding present (see also Nos. 79 and 80).

No. 33



Object Name: Statue of Padmasambhava

Described by: Barmiak Lama
Palhese

Given by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet
Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: 17th century
Date Collected: Before 1910

Location: British Museum, 1946,1217.1

References: "Tibet Random Notes I," 1, 'He [Percy Brown] likes my image of the Red Sect lama, given me by Palhese, a good deal. He considers the drapery to be especially well done'. This figure is also discussed by Bell and Tibetan Lönchens in Darjeeling, 1910. He records in his diary that the Lonchens liked this figure.

Copper image, formerly copper gilt, but the gilt has nearly all worn off. Six inches high including pedestal. Image of a Lama of the Nying-ma sect as appears from the hat and the skull-bowl in the right hand. The Barmiak Lama thinks it 'moderately old, i.e 200 to 400 years old'. The way in which the left hand is raised denotes that he is engaged in religious controversy. This image was given me by K. Palhese, who says that it has been in his house for about 200 years and that it represents Padma Sambhava.

No. 34



Object Name: Statue of Dorje Chang or Vajradhara

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet/Nepal

Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: 13th-14th century

Date Collected: Before 1910

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.58

References: This figure is discussed by Bell and the Lönchens in Darjeeling, 1910. He records in his diary that the Lönchens liked this figure and the *Nyingmapa* Lama List of Curios No 33. It also suggests that the statue was clothed at some stage.

Copper gilt image. 31/2 inches high including pedestal of Dorje Chang. This image is a very old one (i.e Chö-gyel li-ma alias Ser-sang Nying-ba) of the time of King Song Tsen, Gem-pa or a little later; i.e 1000 to 1200 years old. Dorje Chang is as a rule represented as holding a Dorje in his right hand and a bell in his left, but here for the sake of adornment, a lotus is held in each hand, the Dorje resting on one and the bell on the other. The dorje gives him the power (ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་) to raise up sinners and do all kinds of good; the bell gives him the knowledge (ཤེས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་) how to exercise that power.

No. 35



Object Name:	Teapot or <i>sol tib</i>
Described by:	Barmiok Lama
Purchase from:	Trader (Kalimpong or Darjeeling)
Place Made:	Tibet
Place Collected:	Kalimpong or Darjeeling
Date Made:	Late 19 th century
Date Collected:	Around 1903
Location:	National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.97
References:	This teapot is record next to another teapot also bought from a trader at the 1903 Kalimpong Mela.

Copper tea pot with brass bands, 10 inches high. Bought from a trader who said he had bought it at the sale of the property of the Tengyeling Monastery and its lamas in Lhasa after the Tengyeling Gyalpo was condemned to imprisonment for attempting to kill the Dalai Lama by witchcraft. Teapots of this kind are used on ceremonial occasions only, e.g at the New Year, at marriage ceremonies, when entertaining an important lama, or a lama who has come from a distant place. On every day occasions people, both rich and poor, use earthen teapots, because they keep the tea warmer than metal ones, and the tea tastes better in them. Well-to-do people sometimes have their earthen teapots lacquered on the outside to improve their appearance. The ornamentation on the bands of brass seem meant to represent leaves. Wealthy people often have bands of silver or gold on their teapots. At the top of the bands is the ornamentation known as the "Dogs' Nose" (kyi-na) and on the lid lotuses are represented.

No. 36

Object Name: Teapot or *sol tib*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Purchase from: Kalimpong Trader

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: 1903

Location: Unknown

Reference: A 1959 letter to NML from the Bell family noted that the teapot was with them. It may have been sent to Pestalozzi School, but is no longer there.

Copper teapot with top, handle, spout, bottom, et. Gilt with German silver. Bought at Kalimpong Mela about 1903. Height 9 inches. Use similar to that of No. 35. Being small it would be used also in giving water to gods.

No. 37

Object Name: Teapot or *sol tib*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: Late 19th - early 20th centuryDate Collected: Before 14th January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.16

Copper tea pot height 14 inches; handle, spout, top, collar and bottom of brass; figures carved in German silver round widest part. Use similar to that of No. 35. The figures carved in silver are:- Two Shang-shang; with birds wings and feet, but otherwise like human beings (ཤང་ཤང་). The maker has made the feet like those of human beings by mistake. Two dragons.

No. 38

Object Name: Teapot or *sol tib*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: Early 20th centuryDate Collected: Before 14th January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.22b

Reference: *Tibet* catalogue 1953 Pg 79 No 7

Copper tea pot, with top and tip of the spout and chain of German silver; upper rim, collar and base of spout of brass. Height 13 3/4 inches. Use the same as that of No. 35 except that it is meant to be put on the fire, whereas No. 35 to 37 are not so meant.

No. 39



Object Name: Brazier
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Place Collected: Unknown
 Date Made: Early 20th century
 Date Collected: Before 14th January 1913
 Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.22a

Iron cauldron with brass handles for above teapot No. 38. Yak dung, sheep dung, or goat dung fuel put into it to keep the teapot warm.

No. 40



Object Name: Embroidered silk hanging pouch

Described by: Tashi Tsering

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Unknown

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before 13th January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.53

Reference: This is a tentative identification, the description not being full enough for confirmation.

Purse of leather covered with silk of reddish colour with blue borders.

No. 41



Object Name: Ivory plaque representing Chenrezi or Avalokteshvara

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa: Sera Monastery

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: Before 6th January 1913

Location: Unknown

A representation in ivory of Göm-po i.e Chenrezi, the tutelar god of Tibet. Mouth being open signifies that he eats evil persons when they die. [? In red pen] Obtained at Lhasa from a monk of the Sera monastery. The same meaning as No. 2, according to Barmiok Lama on 6th January 1913.

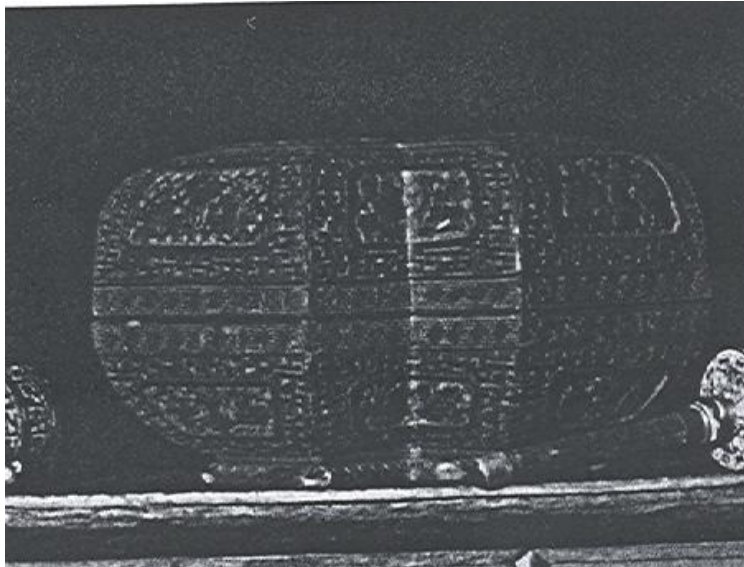
No. 42



Object Name: Ritual dagger or *phurba*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Place Collected: Lhasa: Sera Monastery
 Date Made: Unknown
 Date Collected: Before 6th January 1913
 Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.51
 Reference: *Tibet* catalogue, 1953 Pg 91 No 2

Ivory Pur-pa-dagger. Prevents evil spirits entering. To be placed with 41. Price of 41 and 42 together Rs.89/ 14. Obtained at Lhasa from a monk of the Sera monastery. (The same meaning as No.8 according to Barmiak Lama on 6th January 1913.

No. 43



Object Name: Large lidded lacquer bowl

Described by: Maharaj Kumar's Chinese Tutor

Collected by: Palhese

Place Made: China: Beijing

Place Collected: Ü-Tsang: Gyari

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: Before 6th January 1913

Location: Unknown, had been given to Pestalozzi School

References: Had previously been on loan to Liverpool Museum, but in 1963 it was selected as an item by the Bell Family for loan to Pestalozzi.

8 sided Lacquer Bowl obtained from the uncle of the Gya-ri Ti-chen (Chief of the Gya-ri country, a country between Lhasa and Tsöna) by the Pa-lha-Po-pön at Lhasa, Used for keeping fruit etc. In. Lacquer of this kind is owned only by the highest families in Tibet, and by them only a little, as it is received only by the Dalai and Tashi Lamas and one or two others, as presents from the Chinese Government. Price Rs 55/9 (Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim's Chinese tutor says this is well over 100 years old and is the best quality of lacquer, and was probably made in Peking as the best quality of lacquer is made there. What is made in Peking is better than what is made in Fuchau or elsewhere. Used as a pair of dishes for fruit, biscuits etc. The scenes on the lid represent vassals taking tribute to the Emperor of China. On the sides are towers representing the four seasons.)

No. 44



Object Name: *Ser-kyem* ritual vessel

Described by: Unknown, likely Palhese
 Collected by: Unknown, likely Palhese

Place Made: Tibet
 Place Collected: Lhasa: Bangyeshar Mansion

Date Made: Unknown
 Date Collected: Unknown

Location: Unknown

Ser-kyem Yö che Jug. Pum ba. A thing shaped like an egg cup (pö-por) cup with lid (ne-se) and saucer (ta-pa). All made of copper with knobs, rims and medallions of silver. Beer is put in the pum-ba, barley in the ne-se. A little of the barley is transferred from the ne-se to the pö-por, which is placed in the ta-pa. A little beer is then poured into the pö-por and barley and beer (mostly beer) added until it has overflowed into the ta-pa and this latter is nearly full; this may take 15 to 20 minutes. Then it is taken outside and thrown up into the air in some clean place. The ceremony may be performed either by monk or layman. Its object is to avert evil. Price Rs.17/12. Obtained from mother of the present Palha family at Lhasa.

No. 45



Object Name: Incense burner

Described by: Unknown, likely Palhese

Collected by: Unknown, likely Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa: Namseling Mansion

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Unknown

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.43

Reference: *Tibet* catalogue 1953 Pg 31 No 1

Chinese holy man riding on a deer. Incense is put into the deer and comes out through the man's mouth and sleeves. Price 29/4. Obtained from the Namseling Mansion at Lhasa. The present head of the Namseling family is Palhese's nephew.

No. 46



Object Name: Suit of chain armour

Described by: Unknown, likely Palhese

Collected by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa: Doring Mansion

Date Made: 18th -19th century

Date Collected: Unknown

Location: Unknown

References: Photograph taken between 1908- 20, showing the entrance hall and staircase of the Gangtok Residency

Coat of Chain Armour for Tibetan cavalry soldier with helmet, waistband and shields for going over shoulder, back breast etc. Helmet is called mok, coat = trap, waistband = ke-ra, the shields =Melong. Obtained from the Do-ring mansion at Lhasa. Price 68/12. There were also trousers of the skin of the musk deer; these I have returned to Palhese for sanitary reasons.

No. 47



Another set similar to 46, history and price similar.

Object Name: Suit of chain armour

Described by: Unknown, likely Palhese

Collected by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa: Doring Mansion

Date Made: 18th -19th century

Date Collected: Unknown

Location: Unknown

References: Photograph taken between 1908-20, showing the entrance hall and staircase of the Gangtok Residency

No. 48

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Object Name: Suit of chain armour

Described by: Unknown, likely Palhese

Collected by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Ü-Tsang; Gyari

Date Made: 18th -19th century

Date Collected: Unknown

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.87-88

A coat of armour made of leather (the skin of the musk deer) and iron plates (trap) and helmet (moke). Used by infantry soldiers; obtained from uncle of Gye-ri Ti-chen (ruler of the Gye-ri country). Prive Rs. 56/4.

No. 49



Object Name: Bell collar for a pony

Described by: Unknown, likely Palhese

Collected by: Unknown, likely Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Unknown

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.92

Neck-band for pony with 16 bells called E-ka. Used by traders and lower classes; not by the higher. Obtained from the Dö-pe To-tam at Lhasa, under whose order it was made. All metal things made for the Lhasa Government are made by smiths who work under two officials, both Tse-tungs, who are known as the Dö-pe To-tam. The articles made under the superintendence of the Dö-pe to-tam are considered better than those made by private smiths. Price 6/12.

No. 50



Object Name: Statues of guardian lion dogs or *seng ge*

Described by: Laksminarayan Pradhan

Given by: Laksminarayan Pradhan

Place Made: Nepal: Patan

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: 1908 (Vikrama Year 1965)

Date Collected: 1908-1914

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.20a and b

Reference: Rai Sahib Lachminarain Pradhan or Laksminarayan Pradhan was the son of the first Newar settler in Sikkim and he would follow in his father's footsteps and become a powerful landlord in 1914 he was appointed to sit on the Sikkim State Council. The *seng ge* were like given either on Bell's appointment in 1908 or at the time of Pradhan's election to the Sikkim State Council.

Pair of Nepalese Seng-ge made in Patan, Nepal valley by a Newar. 9 parts copper and 1 part dista. Bought from R. S. Lachmi Narain Pradhan, a Newar landlord in Sikkim.

No. 51



Object Name: Sword or *bata ben*

Described by: Charles Bell

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Place Collected: Possibly Kalimpong

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: May 1909

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.75a and b

Bhutanese sword in silver sheath, gilt in places, red cloth with clasp, pouch blue and red tassles. Presented by Maharaja of Bhutan in May 1909 as a personal present. He says it is one of his own swords

No. 53



Nepalese cauldron (kar-kura) Used by me for keeping firewood in

Object Name:	Cauldron
Described by:	Charles Bell
Given by:	Ugyen Wangchuk
Place Made:	Nepal/Sikkim
Place Collected:	Sikkim: Gangtok
Date Made:	Unknown
Date Collected:	Unknown
Location:	Unknown

No. 54

Object Name: Pair of shields or *da li*Described by: Charles Bell
Given by: Ugyen WangchukPlace Made: Bhutan
Place Collected: Bhutan: PunakhaDate Made: 19th century
Date Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: Private Collection

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

Two Bhutanese shields (da-li) with brass knobs (po-chung) and representation of sun and moon (nyin-da). The sun and moon are a good omen, it shows they are helping the man behind the shield.

No. 55

Object Name: Helmet or *moke*Described by: Charles Bell
Given by: Ugyen WangchukPlace Made: Tibet/Bhutan
Place Collected: Bhutan: PunakhaDate Made: 19th century
Date Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: Private Collection

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

Helmet with lining and neck flaps and ear flaps of blue silk with other colours (Kyap-sba Ta Tö-chen=silk helmet). Worn by high military officer

No. 56



Object Name: Helmet or *mok*

Described by: Charles Bell
Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Tibet/Bhutan
Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: 19th century
Date Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: Private Collection

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

Steel helmet with ear and neck flaps (Pö-cha ser-tu-chen="The Tibetan iron with a gold knob on it") worn by high military officers. They are unable to get them now; they used to buy them in Tibet, but they are no longer made there.

No. 57

Object Name: Swords or *bata ben*

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Tibet/Bhutan

Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: 19th centuryDate Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.61 and 72-74

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

Two swords and sheaths in coloured woollen cloth. The military officer wears two swords (one hanging down right side and the other across left buttock) 1 shield and 1 helmet and 1 shawl as per next item

No. 58



Object Name: Ceremonial shoulder cloth or *khamar*

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Tibet/Bhutan

Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: Unknown

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

Striped shawl (ka-ma) worn by high military officers e.g. Maharaja himself. In battle the shawl is fastened round the right side of the neck and tight under the left shoulder.

No. 59



Object Name: Man's robe or *go* made from a woven fabric in a supplementary weft or *aikapur*

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk
Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan
Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Early 20th century
Date Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: Unknown

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

Striped robe (si-shen ai-ka-bur zhan-da-ben="The silk robe having the colours of the rainbow and called ai-ka-bur"). Worn by an official who can afford it.

No. 60



Object Name: High official hat or *tro zhra*

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.96

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

Coloured hat (Tro-zha) said to be like the hat worn by Padma Sambhava and now worn by Maharaja or Councillors, but not by persons below. Can be worn with the robe described above.

No. 61

Removed for
copyright reasons

Object Name: Ceremonial lap cover or *chagsi pangkeheb* a multi-purpose textile

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk
Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan
Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Early 20th century
Date Collected: 8th January 1910

Location:

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.
From the Land of the Thunder Dragon, 75.

Shawl or apron of cotton cloth with a blue and red pattern (Pang-kep Ü-tam), a country made apron, worn as a shawl by Bhutanese ladies and as an apron at meals by Bhutanese officials. Not numbered.

No. 62



Object Name: Teapot

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Early 20th centuryDate Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.18

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

Tea pot (Sang-bu-ngü-shön-chen) of copper embossed with silver and silver gilt work. Use same as that of No. 35, but of much better manufacture. Height 14 inches. Almost the same as No.102.

No. 63

Object Name: Shoulder cloth or *kabne*

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Early 20th centuryDate Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: Unknown

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

One red shawl worn by Maharaja and Councillors and some lower officials. Not numbered.

No. 64

Object Name: Lime Box or *trimi*

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Early 20th centuryDate Collected: 8th January 1910

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.28

Reference: 54 to 64 inclusive were given in January 1910 by Maharaja Bhutan.

One pan box given by H. H. Maharaja of Bhutan. On the top are leaves of lotus. Below are:- suk (body) in form of a mirror representing the sense of seeing, next to the right a bell= hearing (dra). A conch shell on a flower = smell (tri); a bowl of fruit = taste (ro); a knot of silk = touch (rek-cha). In between each of above is a cloud. Below above are lotus leaves. Below these, but on top half, are Tashi-tagye. Below above, on lower half are "The seven marks of sovereignty" (Gye-si Na-dun) viz:- (i) earrings of a king (gye-pö na-gyen) (round) and of a queen (square) to right of them Tsiin-mo na-gyen (ii) next to right a pair of elephant tusks (Lang pö-che-u) (iii) branch of a coral tree (chi-rü-lak) (iv) horn of a rhinoceros (Si-li-ro) (v) nose of a lion (senge-na-pa) (vi) covers of a religious book (chö-kyi-lep-shing). (vii) Handle of a box (pin-drom Me-lap) The lamas' boxes have a sign like this on them. At bottom of box is a wheel. Circumference measures about 23"

No. 65



Object Name: Lime Box or *trimi*

Described by: Thimpu Dzongpön
Given by: Thimpu Dzongpön

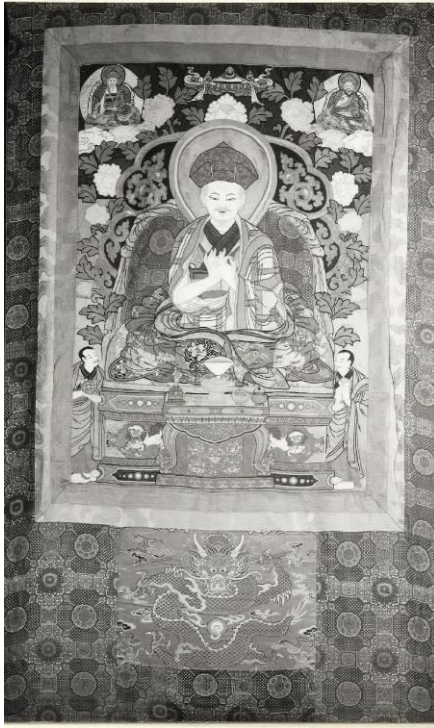
Place Made: Bhutan
Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Early 20th century
Date Collected: Around 8th January 1910

Location: Unknown

One pan box given by H. H. Maharaja of Bhutan. On the top[are leaves of lotus. Below are:- suk (body) in form of a mirror representing the sense of seeing, next to the right a bell= bearing (dra). A conch shell on a flower = smell (tri); a bowl of fruit = taste (ro); a knot of silk = touch (rek-cha). In between each of above is a cloud. Below above are lotus leaves. Below these, but on top half, are Tashi-tagye. Below above, on lower half are "The seven marks of sovereignty" (Gye-si Na-dun) viz:- (i) earrings of a king (gye-pö na-gyen) (round) and of a queen (square) to right of them Tsiin-mo na-gyen (ii) next to right a pair of elephant tusks (Lang pö-che-u) (iii) branch of a coral tree (chi-rü-lak) (iv) horn of a rhinoceros (Si-li-ro) (v) nose of a lion (senge-na-pa) (vi) covers of a religious book (chö-kyi-lep-shing). (vii) Handle of a box (pin-drom Me-lap) The lamas' boxes have a sign like this on them. At bottom of box is a wheel. Circumference measures about 23"

No. 66



Object Name: Applique *thangka* of Tatsang monastery Khenpo, Sherab

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Late 18th – early 19th century

Date Collected: Around 8th January 1910

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.120

Reference: *Heritage of Tibet*, 102-103

Vaishnavite Silks. The figured textiles of Assam, 37-48.

Vrindavani Vastra: Figured Silks from Assam, 62.

Smaller needlework scroll given me by Maharaja of Bhutan in January 1910. Centre figure is She-rap, a former Ta-tsang kempo, who lived 150 to 200 years ago (there have been about 25 since him) Top left hand corner is the 1st Shap-Tung Rim-po-che (nga-wang nam-gyal). Top right hand corner is Sakya Rincchen, the third most learned Ta-tsang kem-po. Most learned of all was Kenchen Lö-nam Ö-ser (who was a disciple of the first Dharma Raja) and the 2nd most learned was Cham-gön Nga-wang Gyetsen. At the foot of Sherap are his two monk-servants dressed in red. Along the foot are the bell, dorje, cup and cupstand, bowl for food and bowl for incense standing on a table at the side of which and behind it appear his chair with representation of lions (seng-ge). Below is a dragon.

No. 67



Object Name: Applique *thangka* of 1st Dharma Raja of Bhutan

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Place Collected: Bhutan: Punakha

Date Made: Late 18th – early 19th century

Date Collected: Around 8th January 1910

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.121 and 121.a

Large ditto. Central figure is tsen-chen Jam-pe-tro-pa. Top left hand is 1st Dharma Raja. Top right hand is Jam-pe I-she Dorje (a Ta-tsang Kempo). On each side at level of shoulder is a Chu-sin (water demon) which lives in the ocean. This is supported on a board by a Kye (strong man) who is mounted on a horse that lives in the water (chu-ta) which is mounted on a lion (seng-ge) which is mounted on an elephant (lang-po-che). From the chu-sin issues a cloud (the yellow red needlework; at the top are two daughters of a Lu (mythical serpent). The daughters are like mermaids; in the picture only the upper half of them appear. At the top is he Cha-chung (a mythical bird of great power). Above these is an umbrella. At the centre figures foot are (from left) a ater jug, a dorje, cup and cupstand, incense bowl (pö-por) then grain vessel (dru-nö). These stand on a table at the sides of which appears a chair with a lotus and lion (seng-ge). On each side two mon servants stand at the corners of the feet of the central figure. Below these are flowers, dragons etc. The position of the figures of the central figure show that he is expounding religion to his followers. This kind of applique silk is known as kö-tang tse drup-ma (ཀོ་ཏང་མཚོ་དྲུཔ་མ་) Needlework above not applique, is called tsem-drup. This and No. 66 were made by Bhutanese in Bhutan, so H.H. tells me. This picture measures 8'9" by 5'8" including the rail[?] surrounding it.

No. 68



Object Name:	Shakyamuni Buddha
Described by:	Lönchen Shatra Lönchen Shokang Lönchen Tekang Laden La Palhese Thirteenth Dalai Lama Barmiok Lama
Given by:	Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Place Made:	Tibet / Nepal
Place Collected:	Darjeeling
Date Made:	13 th – 14 th century
Date Collected:	23 rd May 1910
Location:	Private Collection

Buddha given me by the Dalai Lama May 1910. It is of bell metal and not gilt, except for face. Seven inches high, including base. Blue head dress. The Dalai Lama and all his Ministers, and Palhese and Laden-La say that the image was brought to Tibet when Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in the seventh century i.e. over 1200 years ago. The Dalai Lama says it has been kept in his own private apartments since the time the time of the first Dalai Lama. Palhese thinks it was kept in his private chapel called Shen-dön-kang. The "sacred thread" which is red, is said to be of a kind of copper mixed with gold, silver and some precious stones, which used to be dug out of the earth, but the art of making it has been lost. It is called rang-chung-sang (self produced copper). The shape of the ear denotes its great age. the gold wash on the face and the blue on the hair are put on as often as they rub off, every 10 or 12 years on average. Per Barmiok Lama on 13th January 1913. This image is of bell metal and very old. The art of making bell metal images has been forgotten in Tibet and they are not made now. There is a book that describes the different styles of old manufacture of images, noting the marks of each, so that one can know from it where an old image has been manufactured. The Barmiok Lama is very enthusiastic over this image also. He considers it and No. 70 to be both excellent. I did not tell him that the Dalai Lama had given them to me, until he had finished describing them. The Dalai Lama says that he is sending for a better Buddha for me and hopes it will arrive later. i.e. No 70.

No. 69



Object Name: Jade figure of a *qilin* with cub.

Described by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese Tutor
Fuk Singh

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: China
Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: 18th century
Date Collected: 22nd June 1910

Location: Private Collection

Jade figures given me by Dalai Lama on 22nd June 1910. The figure is that of a mythical animal called chi-ling (ཕྱི་ལིང་) and her young one. In the mouths of both is a stem of a flower called ha-lo (ཧ་ལོ་). The thing was given to the 8th Dalai Lama by the Emperor of China and has ever since been kept in the Dalai Lama's private apartments in the Potala. An ornament resembling a chi-ling is kept by high Chinese officials near their bedside, with the face pointing towards them, and a vase of flowers on each side of the ornament. It brings luck. Above confirmed by Sikkim Maharaj Kumar's Chinese tutor on 24th March 1913. It is Yunnan jade which is the best of this pale jade. Fuk Singh Chinaman in Darjeeling bazar, says that these animals, which he calls Ki-ling used to live in Peking. Now they live underground. They can fly though wingless. The ornament is made of white jade, called pe jül.

No. 69a



Object Name: Wooden domestic shrine or *chö sham*

Made by: Chief Carpenter of Dalai Lama

Place Made: Darjeeling: Jore Bungalow

Place Collected: Darjeeling: Jore Bungalow

Date Made: 1910

Date Collected: 1910

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.7

A chö-sam (མཚན་ཞམས་) (altar) has been made for above by the chief carpenter (um-dze) of the Dalai Lama in Darjeeling and painted by a Tibetan painter living in Jore bungalow. This also is numbered 69.

No. 70



Object Name:	Shakyamuni Buddha
Described by:	Thirteenth Dalai Lama Lamen Khenpo Barmiok Lama
Given by:	Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Place Made:	Tibet / Nepal
Place Collected:	Darjeeling
Date Made:	15 th – 16 th century
Date Collected:	29 th July 1910
Location:	Private Collection

Buddha given me by the Dalai Lama 29th July 1910 at Hillside Darjeeling. The Dalai Lama, Lama Kem-po and others say that this image, like the one given me by the Dalai Lama in May 1910, was brought to Tibet when Buddhism was introduced; i.e. over 1200 years ago. The Dalai Lama and Lama Kem-po say that it has been kept in his private apartments during his time and that of many preceding Dalai Lamas. The Dalai Lama and Lama Kem-po say it was made in Western India, being of copper gilt (ser-sang) while those made in Eastern India, they say, are made of white metal (li) and inferior. The Dalai Lama says that this image of Gautama Buddha is better than the one he gave me in May 1910 and that there is no better Buddha than this in Tibet. It is, he says, of the same quality as the large Buddha in the Chö-kang in Lhasa, which is supposed to have been modelled with Gautama himself as the model and like this one given to me, was made of gold, silver and precious stones i.e. turquoise, corals etc. ground up together. This kind of manufacture is known as "Dze-kyima" (འཛིན་ལྷི་མ་) This one now given is the one, which he said in May 1910 he was sending for from Lhasa, to given me. Per Barmiok Lama on 13th January 1913. This image is an extremely good one. It is very old being of the workmanship known as Chö-gyel Li-ma (ཆོ་གློ་ལི་མ་) or ser-sang nying-ba (ཤེར་སང་ཡིན་བ་) "The old copper gilt". It is evidently of the period of Song tsen Gem-po of Ti-song De-tsen. Tgreat age can be told from the way the image glistens, modern copper gilt will not give this glistening effect. These Kings were known as Chö-gyel", so images etc. made during their reigns, whether made of li (bell-metal) or not are known as "Chö-gyel li-ma". The Barmiok Lama is very enthusiastic over this image. He says that the smoothness of it, and the excellence of the the workmanship show its great age. It is 9 1/2 inches high, includin. base. Blue head dress. This image and No 68 have the bell crest in red sealing. Wax underneath the base to distinguish them.

No. 71



Object Name: Pair of silver gilt flageolet or *gyaling*

Described by: Lönchen Tekang
Samdup Potrang, Tibetan Official

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Lhasa
Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: Early 20th century
Date Collected: 5th September 1910

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.79a and b

Reference: *Tibet* catalogue Pg 65 No 7

A pair of silver gilt Gyalings given me by the Dalai Lama on 5th September 1910. They come from the Nam-gye Tra-tsang, the College of Monks in the Potala. In modern frames covered with red cloth. They are blown before the Dalai Lama when he goes anywhere in the morning and evening. They were made by the Tibetan Government workers in gold and silver called (འདྲི་དཔལ་) literally "one who makes things excellently according to his wishes". Only this artificer of the Tibetan government are called (འདྲི་དཔལ་).

No. 72



Object Name: Jade snuff bottle

Described by: Palhese
Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese Tutor

Bought from: Shöpa Lobtruk, Tibetan Official
Palhese

Place Made: China
Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: Unknown
Date Collected: September 1910

Location: Unknown

Jade snuff bottle with ladle of gold and coral handle. Bought for Rs.75/- from a fifth grade Tibetan monk official named Shö-pa Lob-truk through Palhese in September 1910. The jade is of the ho-ts ü kind, the most valuable kind. This official is selling, because the Dalai Lama has forbidden them to take snuff, saying that the prohibition against smoking includes also the taking of snuff. The Maharaj Kumar's Chinese tutor says this jade is better than that of No.69 and is about twice as old. The semi-transparency is a good sign.

No. 73



Object Name: Pair of gourd-shaped cloisonné vases

Described by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Lönchen Shatra

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet
Place Collected: Darjeeling

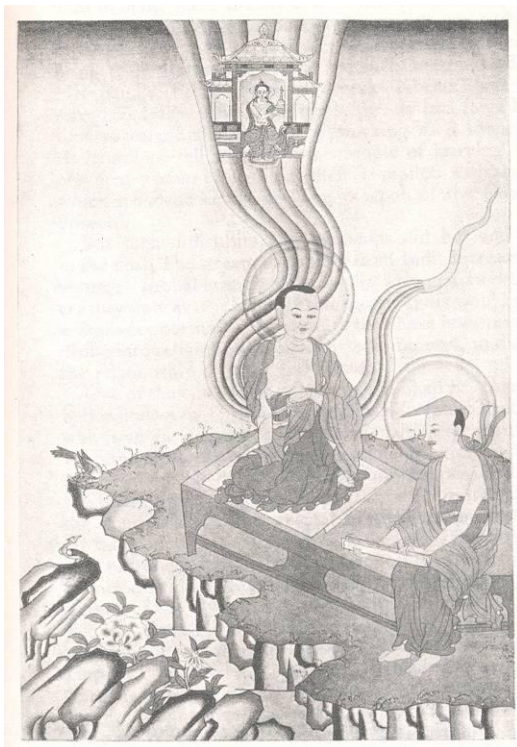
Date Made: 17th-18th century
Date Collected: Around September 1910

Location: Unknown

Reference: Bell noted that this image was taken by the British Museum, but there is no record of the vases in the museum inventory.

2 jars of cloisonne. The Dalai Lama says they belong to him and were made by a Tibetan about 300 years ago. If made by a Chinaman they would have been finished off better at the bottom. The Tibetans used to make cloisonne but have lost the art. So says the Dalai Lama. Shatra Lön-chen says also that Tibetans used to make Tibetan cloisonne (ku-ku-shar) but cannot now and that pieces of Tibetan cloisonne are rare and highly prized in Tibet.

No. 74

Object Name: *Thangka* of Asanga and Vasubandhu

Described by: Sidkyong Tulku

Given by: Sidkyong Tulku

Place Made: Tibet: Kham or Gangtok

Place Collected: Gangtok

Date Made: Late 19th century

Date Collected: June 1911

Location: Unknown

Reference: Painting is shown in *Religion of Tibet*, p.50. It is from the Palpung or Situ Panchen school of *thangka* painting and seems to have been copied from a *thangka* that forms a set of eight *thangka* showing the early Indian masters, in the collection of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, which is noted as having belonged to the Chogyals of Sikkim.

See, *Rgyan drug mchog gnyis* (Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 1962).

2 (a) to (e) Five scrolls painted by a Kham-pa eastern Tibet). One presents Gautama Buddha and the others Indian pandits, one pair on each scroll (Given by Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim in June 1911. He says such paintings are rare). 74(e) has been used as illustration in book IV page 50.

No. 75

Object Name: Amulaic or mandala *thangka*

Described by: Sidkyong Tulku

Given by: Sidkyong Tulku

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Gangtok

Date Made: 19th-20th century

Date Collected: June 1911

Location: Unknown

Scroll representing the four worlds etc of Tibetan traditon. The plan is as follows:- (1) the outer circle in yellow; (2) the ocean; (3) the four worlds, each flanked by a pair of islands. The present world is the southern one (lho dʒam pu-ling). (4) the golden hill ranges with the oceans of delight between them; (5) the four tiers in the four quarters surrounding Mount Meru, which is shown as a dark blue square in the centre (Given me by the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim June 1911).

No. 76



Object Name: Tibet book or *pecha* of grammar

Described by: Lamen Khenpo

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: 19th-20th century

Date Collected: Around 26th July 1911

Location: Unknown

Reference: The only meeting recorded between the Dalai Lama and Bell in July 1911 occurred on the 26th July 1911, when Bell had to visit the Dalai Lama to inform him that the Russian reply to the secret letter that the Dalai Lama had written to the Russian government had in fact been sent to the British India government with a message that Russia was not willing to break the terms of the 1907 Anglo-Russia agreement on Tibet and would therefore not intervene in Tibet's internal affairs.

Tibetan grammar composed by the present (13th) Dalai Lama and sent me by his Kusbo Khempo in July 1911

No. 77



Object Name: Lamp

Bought by: Achuk Tsering

Place Made: Nepal

Place Collected: Calcutta [Kolkata]

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Around 15th January 1912

Location: Unknown

Reference: Bought from Achuk Tsering while both men were in Calcutta, during the time of Bell's marriage to Cashie Bell on the 15th January at St Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.

Nepalese lamp engraved and gilt. Bought though R.S. Achuk Tsering in Calcutta in January 1912 for Rs. 100.

No. 78

Object Name: Sword or *bata ben*

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Place Collected: Delhi

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: December 1911 - January 1912

Location: Private Collection

Reference: Likely given to Bell by the Gongsa of Bhutan at the 1911 Delhi Durbar, which took place in December of that year. It was either a gift to Bell for accompanying the Bhutan delegation to the Durbar or as with other objects surrounding this one in *List of Curios* it was given as a wedding present, which would take place just two weeks after the Durbar.

Bhutanese sword similar to 51, given me by Maharaja of Bhutan.

No. 79



Object Name: Rice vessel

Given by: Sidkyong Tulku

Place Made: Tibet/Sikkim

Place Collected: Calcutta or Gangtok

Date Made: 19th centuryDate Collected: Around 15th January 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.5

Reference: There is no diary entry for Bell and Cashie's wedding day, but from the Delhi Durbar report it seems that Sidkyong Tulku was in Calcutta at the time of Bell's wedding, so he may have attended the wedding or given the gifts later on after his and Bell's return to Gangtok.

From Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim in January 1912, wedding present. 79 is a silver rice pot

No. 80



Object Name: Vessel for tea froth

Given by: Sidkyong Tulku

Place Made: Tibet/Sikkim

Place Collected: Calcutta or Gangtok

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Around 15th January 1912

Location: Unknown

Reference: This 'slop bowl' is likely to be a repousse silver bowl used for the froth that was scrapped off the top of Tibetan tea.

From Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim in January 1912, wedding present. 80 is a silver slop bowl

No. 81

Object Name: Skull cup or *thod pa* on silver mount

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Laden La

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: January 1911

Location: Unknown

Reference: The only meeting Bell records in his diary is held on the 3rd
January 1911.

Things given me by the Dalai Lama in January 1911. He said they were his own property. Kab-li (ཀའ་ལི་) with silver lid. A bowl made of a human skull, in which water, blood or wine may be offered. The blood may for instance, be taken from the finger of a man, who thus offers it to kill an enemy the offering being repeated 3 or 7 days consecutively. Such offerings are made by Nying-ma-pas.

No. 82



Object Name: Thigh bone trumpet or *kangling*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Barmiok Lama
Laden La

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: January 1911

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.36.a and b

Reference: The only meeting Bell records in his diary is held on the 3rd January 1911.

A pair of silver trumpets (kangling) (ཀང་ལྷོང་). Made from a human thigh bone. Used in temples; also in travelling to keep off evil spirits. (Per Barmiok Lama 31st December 1912) used for summoning the fierce (trak-po) spirits in religious services and some of the mild spirits. Blown in pairs.

No. 83



Object Name: Ritual vessel containing Tse pa me or *tse bum pa*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Laden La

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: January 1911

Location: Unknown

Reference: The only meeting Bell records in his diary is held on the 3rd January 1911.

Tse-bum-pa (ཙུམ་པ་) A vase containing a small image of Tse-pa-me, the god of immortality. In the bowl is kept Ka-che kur-gum (ཀ་ཅེ་ཀུར་གུམ་) obtained from Kashmir. Used mainly by Nying-ma-pas for prolonged life.

No. 84

Object Name: Ritual basin with lid or *ne se*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Laden La

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: January 1911

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.27

Reference: The only meeting Bell records in his diary is held on the 3rd January 1911.

Ne-se (ནལ་བཟང) or *Dre-se* (དཔལ་བཟང) *A basin for keeping barley or rice offering.*

No. 85

Object Name: The Eight Auspicious Symbols or *tashi tagye*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Laden La

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: January 1911

Location: Unknown

Reference: The only meeting Bell records in his diary is held on the 3rd January 1911.

Ta-shi Ta-gye The eight auspicious symbols which are figured in Buddha's footprints. These are (1) *Druk* (ཡུལ་མཚོ) Precious umbrella (2) *Ser-nya* (ཤར་ལྷ་མོ) golden fish; (3) *Ser-chen bum-pa*; Treasure pot (4) *Pe-ma* Lotus; (5) *Tung kor ye kyi*, the white conch with whirls turning to the right (6) *Pal-kyi Pe-bu* (7) *Gya-tsen*, Victorious banner; (8) *Kor-lo* the wheel. The above eight emblems are put in the *Pe-der* (lotus plates) which contain rice, barley or wheat, and placed on the altar or before high Lamas e.g. the Dalai and Tashi Lama.

No. 86

Object Name: Ritual iron ladles or *jinse lug*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Laden La

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Darjeeling

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: January 1911

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.55 and 56

Reference: The only meeting Bell records in his diary is held on the 3rd January 1911.

Jin-se Luk or Kang-sa Luk Two long iron ladles, used by Tantrik Buddhists for clarified butter or oil to put in the burnt offerings known as *Jin-se* in Tibet and *Hom* in India. When a man dies a sudden death, his soul may remain where he dies. An expert Tantrik priest will make above offerings and thus get to know the names of the deceased. He will write it on paper and put it in the ladle and then on the fire. The soul is thus released and proceeds on its way to Yama's judgement. The oil or butter is taken in the smaller circular ladle and poured into the lower square one

No. 87



Object Name: Jade cup and silver gilt cover

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: 19th February 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.8 and 9

Reference: *Heritage of Tibet*, 96
 'Ritual and revelry: the art of drinking in Asia', British Museum, September 2012 – April 2013

From Dalai Lama on 19th February 1912. A pair of white jade cups with lids and elliptical saucers of silver partly gilt.

No. 88



Gold medal 2" in diameter

Object Name: Medal

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: Around 1912

Date Collected: 19th February 1912

Location: Unknown, stolen from Private Collection

Reference: A gold medal, resembling a British empire insignia. Cast specifically for Bell, Laden La and Macdonald and one given to each of the men in February 1912, when the Dalai Lama had moved to Bhutan House in Kalimpong. Bell not only requested to keep the medal, but also for permission to wear the medal on his Political Officer uniform.

No. 89

*Brass Chorten*Object Name: Model *stupa* or *chorten*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: Unknown

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

In a letter from the curator at Liverpool Museum in 1959, the chorten is noted as being with the Bell family. It may have been sent to Pestalozzi in 1963, but it was not at the school when an inventory was taken in 2011.

No. 90



Object Name: Stone Chenrezi or Avalokiteshvara

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Barmiak Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: Unknown

Date Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.51

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Stone Chenrezi with 11 heads, and a large number of arms representing 1000 arms. Per Barmiak Lama on 28th January 1913. In each of the 1000 hands Chenrezi has an eye; this is shown only faintly as the hands are small. The small head on the top is Ö-pa-me (Amitabha). Just below this is a head of Chenrezi with the fierce (Trak-po) aspect. The thousand hands with an eye in each indicate that Chenrezi created 1000 incarnations (trü-ku) Chenrezi made a vow before Ö-pa-me saying "I will bring the sentient beings of the 6 worlds to salvation. If I fail let my body be broken into a thousand pieces." He tried but the number of beings was too great. So his body began to break. Ö-pa-me squeezed his body together again but a thousand arms burst out and ten heads. Images and pictures represent 11 heads, the 11th being that of Ö-pa-me, to show that Ö-pa-me is the spiritual father of Chen-re-zi. The image appears to be made of alabaster which is said to come from Kamrup in Assam.

No. 91



Object Name: Shrine box or *ga'u* with figure of Jambhala or Bodhisattva of Wealth

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Lamen Khenpo
Netuk Orderly

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 18th - 19th century

Date Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.63 and 65

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Tibet catalogue Pg 51 No 13

Sandalwood figure of Dzam-padha in a gilt charm box. Netuk orderly tells me that Dzam-padha is always fashioned out of sandalwood (tsen-den). The Dalai Lama and the Lame Kempo tell me that Dzam-padha is the god that brings wealth.

No. 92



Object Name: Clothes and accessories of a novice monk

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Lamen Khenpo

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 20th centuryDate Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.77-85

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Dress of monk complete, 9 pieces. Lamen Kempo explained how the various pieces of the dress should be put on, putting them on over his clothes. Per Barmiak Lama on 28th January 1913. (a) Dark maroon cloth worn as a skirt. In patches. Being long it may be wound three or four times round the waist and folded over at the sides. It is fastened with a yellow waistband of woollen cloth. It must be put on over the head out of respect to Buddha. (b) Coat of red woollen cloth with red and yellow silk with Tranyamas on it (c) One piece of maroon cloth with white patches with black marks on them. This and (d) a piece of yellow cloth are laid on each other, the yellow cloth outside and worn as a shawl. The patchwork is in imitation of the patched robe worn by Gautama. (e) Yellow woollen hat, white inside with red bands at the back and woollen top. Used especially when riding. (f) Leather boots of yak hide, red at top, white lower portion. This kind of boot is not worn as a rule except by the monks of Sera, Drepung and Ganden monasteries. (g) Small water bottle in an envelope of red cloth with an iron spoon, by which it is suspended from the waistband. (h) Begging bowl of iron with covering of red woollen cloth and yellow cotton cloth. It is used by Gelongs also as a bowl to eat from. The begging bowl is strapped across the back when travelling. The above robes etc. are those worn by a Ge-tsul, i.e. a monk who has passed certain tests but is not yet fully ordained (Waddell's Lamaism page 171).

No. 93



Silver butter lamp 5" high, lotus flowers below bowl and lotus leaves below

Object Name: Butter lamper or *cho me*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.47

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Tibet catalogue Pg 51 No 9

No. 94

Object Name: Ritual dagger or *phurba*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 19th centuryDate Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.52

Reference: This is a tentative identification, there are only two metal *phur ba* in Bell's collection, the other is in the British Museum. One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Tibet catalogue Pg 91 No1

Devil-dagger (Chak-pur) used by Nying-ma sect.

No. 95



Object Name: Ceremonial table cover or *teng kab*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Lamen Khenpo

Place Made: China/Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.90

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Tibet catalogue Pg 10 No11

Teng-kep, a cloth with coloured squares. Used as a tablecloth. Sacred objects are also put on it when carried in the hand.

No. 96



Object Name: Official's brocade hat with coral finial and red fringe or *chagdar*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Lamen Khenpo

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: Unknown

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Chak-da cap with coral button. Worn by Shaptes, Depons etc. So Lame Kempo tells me

No. 97



Object Name: Pony Bells

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: China/Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 19th centuryDate Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: Unknown

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Two strings of bells for putting round necks of ponies or mules (yer-ka).

No. 98



Object Name: Cauldron

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Lamen Khenpo

Place Made: China/Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: Unknown

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Cauldron for boiling tea etc (Trö) Dalai Lama says it is made five or six different metals blended among which are iron, brass and copper.

No. 99

Image removed for
copyright reasons

Object Name: Pony and rider armour
 Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
 Described by: Palhese
 Dalai Lama
 Place Made: Tibet/Mongolia/Bhutan
 Place Collected: Kalimpong
 Date Made: 17th century
 Date Collected: 18th June 1912
 Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, IM 30 1933
 Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Warriors of the Himalayas, 97-100

Pony armour complete 7 pieces. Dalai Lama says it is very old 200 or 300 years old and that people have lost the art of making it so well nowadays. Per Palhese on 15th January 1913. The pieces are as follows:- (1) Heavy coat of iron and leather with coloured tassels, worn by the man back and front. (2) extra piece of leather, originally worn over No. (1) as an extra protection, but in later years worn behind the pony's tail to protect his hind legs. (3) Two pieces of brown lacquered leather of somewhat elliptical shape, worn by the man over the shoulder to protect against sword thrusts. (4) Two pieces. Tassels etc. of yak hair joined to pieces of snow leopard skins and coloured silk strips. Worn by the man as ornaments. Usually one is worn over his back and one over his chest. (5) Armour plate for horse's head and neck. (6) a pair of armour plates similar to (1) carried under the saddle. (7) Worn over the horse's quarters just behind the saddle. I sent this set of armour to the South Kensington museum on loan for three years in January 1913.

No. 100

Object Name: Prayer beads or *trem wa*

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Described by: Lamen Khenpo
Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: 19th centuryDate Collected: 18th June 1912

Location: Unknown

Reference: One of several gifts given to Bell by the Dalai Lama, before he and his entourage left Kalimpong for their journey back to Lhasa.

Two Chu-sel with gold beads (of rather poor quality) and two with silver beads. Each silver bead moved a little down its string denotes that the rosary has been counted through once. When the ten silver beads are finished, one gold bead is moved a little down its string. Thus the silver beads represent hundreds, for there are about 100 beads on the rosary and the gold beads represent thousands, Thus explain the Dalai Lama and the Lame Kempo. No. 88 to 100 inclusive were given me by the Dalai Lama on 18th June 1912.

No. 101



Object Name: Statue of the Ninth Karmapa, Wangchuk Dorje

Given by: Gyaltzen Kazi

Described by: Gyaltzen Kazi

Place Made: Tibet: Tsurphu

Place Collected: Gangtok

Date Made: 17th century

Date Collected: 10th December 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.59

Reference: The timing of the gift suggests it might have been given as a present to Bell to celebrate the birth of his son, Arthur.

National Museums Liverpool, World Cultures gallery, April 2005 - Present

From Gyaltzen Kazi of Sikkim on 10th December 1912. Silver gilt image of ninth Karmapa Lama Wang Chuk Dorje, who is said to have been born in 1556 and to have lived for 46 years. The Karmapa and Kargyu sects are the same. This ninth Karmapa Lama lived in Tso-ouke Monastery in Tibet. Image is on a gilt stand. This image was bought by Kangsa Lama of Sikkim at Tso puk Monastery and given by him to his father Kangsa Dewan of Sikkim. It is believed to be fairly old, about 100 years old. Height 3 3/4 inches including pedestal. Seated on a 4 mattress (bö-den). In the left hand he holds a book; the right is in "the earth pressing posture" subjecting demons.

No. 102



Object Name: Teapot

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.126

Bhutanese tea-pot, copper embossed with silver and silver gilt work. Height 12 1/4 inches. Handle represents mythological animal somewhat like a crocodile. On side of body of pot are two shang-shang, (ཤང་ཤང་). On the collar are a bell representing sound; to the left of this a bowl of ointment for rubbing on the body after bathing, thus giving a good scent and so representing smell; to the left of this is a vessel containing food, thus representing taste; to the left of this a mirror representing sight. The fifth sense, touch, when represented is often represented by clothing (tuk-lo). Just above these on the collar of the lid are flowers. Below the collar, horizontal on the body of the pot, are four dragons among the eight Tashi-ta-gye. Round the bottom of the body is a circlet of leaves. The base is of brass with a rim of silver.

No. 103



Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Pestalozzi School

Copper tea pot embossed with silver. Use same as that of No.35 except that this one can be put on the fire.

No. 104

Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 17th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.94

Tibetan Bookcover (ཐུ་སྐྱེ་ཁོར་བུ་) In Sikkim the best covers are made of birch or rhodendron; these being hard and therefore good for carving. Length 14 3/4", width 6 inches. The figures are rubbed, but the centre one appears to be Chö-ku Yum Chem-mo (མཆོག་ཀུ་ཡུམ་ཅེན་མོ་) "The great Chö-ku Mother", Chö-ku being the title given to the highest deities and meaning spiritual body. Those of lower rank than Chö-ku are termed Long-ku (ལོང་ཀུ་) those below long-ku are termed Trii-ku or Incarnations. The Chö-ku are the earliest deities, then the long-ku, then the Trii-ku. All were in existence long before this world was formed. In this world Gautama was the 4th Buddha Mar-me-dze was the 3rd, Gye-wa-Cham-pa will be the 5th and there will be 1002 altogether. The small figure to the left of the central one is Chenrezi; to the right Cha-na Dorje. The large figure on the left is Long-ku Nampar Nang-Dze, who cleanses from sin. The large figure on the right is Gautama Buddha. Round the central figure are the six creatures, garuda bird etc (see 21) The fringe all round represents lotuses.

No. 105



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 17th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.93

Tibetan bookcover. Length 13 3/4 inches, width 5 1/2 inch. The central figure is the "Great Mother" (See No.104; she sits on a throne supported by a pair of lions. To the immediate left is Tse-pa-me, the god of long life, to the immediate right is "Green Drol-ma. On the extreme left is Dzam-ba-lha, the god of wealth; on the extreme right is his wife. As in pictures, so on book covers, the man who gets them carved, gets the sculptor to carve on them the image whom he wishes most to worship. The owner of this book-cover was no doubt, the Barmiok Lama says, fond of riches. Above all the figures are twigs with leaves.

No. 106



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Date Made: 17th century
 Date Collected: Before January 1913
 Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.95

Tibetan bookcover 21 1/2 inches by 5 1/2 inches, gilding mostly worn off. The figures are the Ri-sum Göm-po, Chenrezi, the god of Pity (Nying-je) in the centre; Jampeyang, the god of wisdom, on the left and Chana Dorje, the god of power (tu-top) on the right. Chana Dorje's power is used for subduing demons. For instance in those illnesses, due to demons e.g. epilepsy, prayers should be offered to Chana Dorje. There are many such prayers. If the patient knows any of them himself, he should repeat them; if not, he should call in a monk to do so. Skin diseases are due to the mythological serpent (lu) and in such diseases also prayers should be offered to Chana Dorje, who controls these serpents. For insanity also Chana Dorje is prayed to.

No. 107

Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 17th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.96

Tibetan bookcover 17 inches by 5 3/4 inches. In the centre is the "Great Mother" (see 104); on the extreme left is Gautama, on the extreme right is Jam-yang Chö-koṛ-ma (ཇམ་ཡམ་ཆོ་ཀོར་མ་). His hands are together, each holds a lotus; that in the right hand goes to the left shoulder and on it are sacred books (pu-ti); that in the left hand goes to the right shoulder and on it is a sword.

No. 108



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Sera Monastery

Date Made: 13th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.125

Reference: Although Bell notes that the book cover was from Sera Monastery, he couldn't have acquired this himself as he didn't travel to Lhasa until 1920-21. There are a couple of options, there is a possibility that he brought this from a trader in Kalimpong or Gangtok or more likely he acquired it via a member of the Pha lha family. He visited them regularly during his annual tours of southern Tibet and the Palha family were aligned to the Sera Monastery.

Tibetan bookcover 29 1/4" x 10 1/2" gilt. The central figure is the "Great Mother" (see 104). The large figure on the left is Nam-par Nang-dze, who cleanses from sin; the large figure on the right is Gautama. The figures are the same as those of No. 111 obtained from Sera Monastery.

No. 109



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Sera Monastery

Date Made: 14th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.129

Reference: Although Bell notes that the book cover was from Sera Monastery, he couldn't have acquired this himself as he didn't travel to Lhasa until 1920-21. There are a couple of options, there is a possibility that he brought this from a trader in Kalimpong or Gangtok or more likely he acquired it via a member of the Pha lha family. He visited them regularly during his annual tours of southern Tibet and the Palha family were aligned to the Sera Monastery.

Tibetan bookcover 28" x 10". Three large figures. In the centre "The Great Mother". On the left (looking at the bookcover) Jam-pe-yang. On the right is Mi-Kyö-pa (མི་རྒྱལ་པ་) (Sanskrit Akshobhya) one of the five Jina. He is seated on a throne supported by elephants and dressed in the Long-kö dress i.e. with ornaments, Mi-kyöpa is a Long-kö but sometimes takes Trü-ku form and dress i.e. without ornaments. On each side a peacock, in the middle a lion and a deer. Obtained from Sera Monastery.

No. 110



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Sera Monastery

Date Made: 14th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.130

Reference: Although Bell notes that the book cover was from Sera Monastery, he couldn't have acquired this himself as he didn't travel to Lhasa until 1920-21. There are a couple of options, there is a possibility that he brought this from a trader in Kalimpong or Gangtok or more likely he acquired it via a member of the Pha lha family. He visited them regularly during his annual tours of southern Tibet and the Palha family were aligned to the Sera Monastery.

Tibetan bookcover 28" x 10". Five large figures representing the five Jinas (Gye-wa-Ri-nga) See Waddell's Lamaism pp.336 and 349. On the extreme left in Rin-chen Jung-ne (Ssk. Ratna Sambhava) with right hand downwards and palm outwards in the "bestowing" (chok-jin) attitude (Waddell's Lamaism p.337). He gives spiritual power towards the attainment of Buddhahood (S L Das Dictionary p.359). Next is Mi-kyö-pa (Ssk Akshobhya); the right hand in the "subduing devils" attitude. In the centre is Nam-par Nang-dze (Ssk. Vairocana), hands in the (Chang-chup-chok-ki-cha-gya) (བཅའ་ཅུཔ་ཅོག་ཀི་ཅམ་གྱམ་) attitude i.e. the attitude of remitting sins and giving knowledge. There are many deities who remit sins and give knowledge but Nam-par Nang-dze is the "most precious" of them. Then Ö-pa-me (Ssk Amitabha) with hands in Nyam-cha (མཉམ་ཅམ་) i.e "meditative attitude". On extreme right Tön-yö Trup-pa (རྟོན་ཡོད་བླ་པ་) in the attitude of preaching religion. Obtained from Sera Monastery.

No. 111



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Sera Monastery

Date Made: 17th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museums, 1933,0508.97

Reference: This is a tentative identification. Although Bell notes that the book cover was from Sera Monastery, he couldn't have acquired this himself as he didn't travel to Lhasa until 1920-21. There are a couple of options, there is a possibility that he brought this from a trader in Kalimpong or Gangtok or more likely he acquired it via a member of the Phalha family. He visited them regularly during his annual tours of southern Tibet and the Palha family were aligned to the Sera Monastery.

Tibetan bookcover 26 1/4" by 10". Three large figures, "The Great Mother" in centre; Nampar Nang-Tse on left (looking at cover); Gautama on right, surrounded by his disciples and others. The central figure has the five "celestial victors" (Jinas) on each side of it in the Tru-kü dress. On extreme left are the Jinas in Long-kü dress. On the left of Nang-pa Nang-tse are two of the Jinas above and below are Jampeyang, at top Chenrezig, in middle Chana Dorje (the last at bottom). Obtained from Sera Monastery.

No. 112



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Sera Monastery

Date Made: 17th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museums, 1933,0508.99

Reference: This is a tentative identification. Although Bell notes that the book cover was from Sera Monastery, he couldn't have acquired this himself as he didn't travel to Lhasa until 1920-21. There are a couple of options, there is a possibility that he brought this from a trader in Kalimpong or Gangtok or more likely he acquired it via a member of the Pha lha family. He visited them regularly during his annual tours of southern Tibet and the Palha family were aligned to the Sera Monastery.

Bookcover 26 3/4" by 10 1/2". Three large figures "The Great Mother" in centre; on left of cover Gautama, on right green Drölma. The "Great Mother" is the goddess of all books. Old gilt, obtained from the Sera Monastery.

No. 113



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Sera Monastery

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museums, 1933,0508.98

Reference: This is a tentative identification. Although Bell notes that the book cover was from Sera Monastery, he couldn't have acquired this himself as he didn't travel to Lhasa until 1920-21. There are a couple of options, there is a possibility that he brought this from a trader in Kalimpong or Gangtok or more likely he acquired it via a member of the Pha lha family. He visited them regularly during his annual tours of southern Tibet and the Palha family were aligned to the Sera Monastery.

Bookcover 29 1/2" by 10 3/4" obtained from Sera Monastery. Five large Tamtrik deities on canopied thrones.

No. 114



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Described by: Barmiok Lama
Given by: Ninth Panchen Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Tashi Lhunpo Monastery

Date Made: 13th century
Date Collected: Around 6th November 1906

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.126

Reference: Several of Bell's measurements are inaccurate in the List of Curios catalogue, although this is not a perfect match it is the closest in size to this catalogue entry.

Bookcover 29" by 11 3/4". "The great Mother" in the centre, Nampar Nang-dze on the left of the cover and Gautama on the right. Given me by the Tashi Lama in 1906. The throne of each surrounded by the "Six supporters" (Truk-gyok).

No. 115



Object Name: Glare glasses and case

Given by: Tsodrak Namgyal

Place Made: China

Date Made: 20th century

Date Collected: March 1912

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.29

Chinese spectacle case, blue on one side, red on other; yellow cords with green tassels running through it. Given me by Gye-se Kusbo of Traring in March 1912

No. 116



Object Name: Watch case
Given by: Tsodrak Namgyal
Place Made: China
Date Made: 20th century
Date Collected: March 1912
Location: Unknown

Chinese watch case of blue silk with red cloth inside. Chinese letters, made of beads, on one pocket. Coloured glass round the watch pocket. Given me by Gye-se Kusbo of Tra-ring in March 1912

No. 117

Image removed for
copyright reasons

Object Name: Woman's wrapped garment or *kusbiithara*

Described by: Tsering, Bhutan resident

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: January 1910

Location: V&A, IM 19 1933

Reference: Although Bell makes no mention of the textiles being acquired in 1910 in the List of Curios, he gives this provenance when donating the textiles to the V&A in 1933.

From the Land of the Thunder Dragon, 95

Per Tsering, Bhutanese villager, Ku-sbi-ta-ra. Bhutanese cloth in three strips. White background with red and blue squares of Assam silk 9ft 3" by 4ft 6". Worn by wives of officials as an outside robe or dress.

No. 118



Object Name: Waist cloth or *kera*

Described by: Tsering, Bhutan resident
Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: Early 20th century
Date Collected: January 1910

Location: Private Collection

Reference: Although Bell makes no mention of the textiles being acquired in 1910 in *List of Curios*, he gives this provenance when donating textiles around this number to the V&A in 1933.

Per Tsering, Bhutanese villager, Ke-ra--Ü-tam. Red, blue and white 10'6" by 1'5". Worn as a waistband by the wives of Bhutanese officials.

No. 119



Object Name: Lap cover or *pangkeheb*, a multi-purpose textile

Described by: Tsering, Bhutan resident

Given by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: January 1910

Location: V&A, IM 22 1933

Reference: Although Bell makes no mention of the textiles being acquired in 1910 in the List of Curios, he gives this provenance when donating textiles around this number to the V&A in 1933.

From the Land of the Thunder Dragon, 131

Per Tsering, Bhutanese villager, Pang-kep, White background with blue and red patterns, Cotton, roughly woven 7'10" by 1'6". Worn by middle aged and elderly wives of villagers either as a waistband or for carrying their small children on their backs.

No. 120



Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Sikkim / Nepal

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama 21st January 1913. Charm Box (kao) (ཀའོ) 3 1/2" square of silver, delicate tracery, 4 turquoise in centre (1 missing) made in Sikkim or N E Nepal. Worn by women on the chest. Those, who believe in such things put a talisman (སྒྲུང་བུ) sung wa; others wear them simply as an ornament. For the talisman, the wearer will go to a lama and get him to write one out for her; it will as a rule be for protection against illness, for wealth, or long life, or for all these things. The talisman is a writing and picture combined which varies according to the purpose for which required.

No. 121

Object Name: Woman's amulet box or *ga'u thubzhi*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Sikkim / Nepal

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933.0508.4

Per Barmiok Lama 21st January 1913. Charm Box 3" by 2 3/4" of similar style of workmanship to above. One largish turquoise in centre, 4 small at the corners of the gilt work and 4 others at the corners of the box.

No. 122

Object Name: Shrine box or *ga'u* with Jambhala

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama 21st January 1913. Silver box with pointed arch, top 3" by 1 3/4 " with an image of Dzambalpa in it. Dzambalpa being the god of wealth. This form of bo with an image in it is known as Si-u-lba-kang. This is yellow Dzambalpa. There are five forms of Dzambalpa, white, red, black and spotted being the other forms. In his right hand he holds a mongoose. Dzambalpa's father was a god; his mother was a mythological serpent (lu). Each gave him a jewel (nor-bu) When he was absent a mongoose came and ate them. He returned, caught the mongoose and squeezed the jewels out of him. So he is represented as holding a mongoose and sometimes the mongoose is shown as vomiting the jewels. These boxes are worn by both men and women. They are not worn as ornaments, as the case, partly at any rate, with the kaos, but are worn solely to keep off illnesses, to bring prosperity or to serve some other similar object. Some lamas also have made a vow never to be parted from the image of Gautama and from their religious robes even for a day. So when they go on a journey, they put a very small image of Gautama and round him a small piece of their religious robe in a box like this and carry it on their persons. Otherwise as the robe is not comfortable to wear on a journey, they would have to carry it and thus burden themselves unnecessarily.

No. 123



Object Name: Incense pot
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before January 1913
Date Collected: Before January 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 21st January 1913. A bell-metal incense pot about 11" round widest part.

No. 124



Object Name: Woman's hip ornament

Described by: Tashi Tsering
Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Babu Tashi Tsering and Barmiok Lama on 21st January 1913. A pair of silver chains, each chain having a pair of blue and green silk tassels at the end. Worn by women, one hanging at each side from the hips. Called Bo-ku Kap-shup.

No. 125



Object Name: Shawl or cloak clasp
Described by: Tashi Tsering
Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before January 1913
Date Collected: Before January 1913
Location: Unknown

*Per Babu Tashi Tsering and Barmiok Lama on 21st January 1913. A silver chain, with three arms, set with turquoises in centre. Used for tying up a woman's shawl or cloak. Hangs in front. Known as Dik-
ra "The Scorpion" because the hooks at the ends are considered like scorpion's claws.*

No. 126

Object Name: Prayer wheel or *mani lag khor*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Given by: Ninth Panchen Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before November 1906

Date Collected: 6th November 1906

Location: British Museum, 1946,1217.4

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd January 1913. Praying wheel, silver wheel 7 3/4" in circumference, wooden handle with German silver at each end. Given me by Tashi Lama. New. Use as No 17.

No. 127



Object Name: Man's false pocket

Described by: Tashi Tsering

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.92a

Per Babu Tashi Tsering on 22nd January 1913. Chinese purse 13 3/4" long of maroon silk, with a pocket at each end, edged with blue braid and Chinese lettering on a red silk square.

No. 128



Object Name: Wooden bowl or *phor pa*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Date Made: Before January 1913
 Date Collected: Before January 1913
 Location: British Museum, 1933.0508.39

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd January 1913. Tibetan cup for eating and drinking. Diameter 4 3/4" from outside to outside of rim. Of good quality. Made from one of the excrescences that grow on certain hardwood trees e.g. Dzap maple, yalishing etc. These excrescences are known as ba, which means goitre, as they are like goitre on a person's neck. This one, says the Lama is made from the excrescence of dzap wood growing on yali tree (maple). This goitre is believed to grow also sometimes on the stems of the Sisnu nettle. It is regarded as a jewel (norbu) and shines at night. One is large enough to make a small bowl and such a bowl has the power of detecting poison. If poison is put into it it breaks. These cups are used by laymen, not by monks and are known as Dzap-por. Some have rings inside round the bottom (e.g. 130) and this is regarded as making them prettier (drachakpo). All dzap-por i.e cups made from the dzap wood excrescences, are supposed to prevent poison taking effect. Cups (por-ma) made from other woods have not this power.

No. 129



Object Name: Wooden bowl or *phor pa*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.39

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd January 1913. Similar cup, 4 1/4" in diameter. This, says the Lama, is also a dzap-por and is the best of the three, 128, 129, 130. Use as in No. 128.

No. 130

Object Name: Wooden bowl or *phor pa*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd January 1913. Similar cup 3" in diameter. This is also a dzap-por and its use is similar to that of No. 128. The Lama says this one is made from the inside of the "goitre" and is therefore rougher; No. 129, being made from the outside, is smoother and therefore liked better. On the other hand this one (130) has rings at the bottom inside, which are an additional attraction.

No. 131



Object Name: Skull drum or *thod nga*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century
 Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.6

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd January 1913. A drum made of two human skulls with skins of sheep or goat, known as tö-nga "skull-drum". Those made of wood or ivory are known as "Damaru". 4 3/4" by 4". This kind of drum should according to the books be made of a boy's skull and a girl's, each 16 years old. But as would be difficult to get exactly such skulls always, they are often made of wood or ivory (pa-so) (པ་སོ). This drum is an old one but not of very good manufacture; the skulls are probably of grown up people. In the assemblies of the monks the presiding lama holds this drum in his right hand and a bell in his left and shakes each from time to time. This applies to Gelukpa, Nyingmapa and other sects, except the Sakya sect, where the presiding lama beats the larger kind of drum, known as nga, which is made of wood. Formerly there was an ogre (Dü-po) known as Matam Ruta, who destroyed human beings and property in India. Tam-drin attacked him, aided by Pa-mo his wife, who attacked him from underground. They killed him. The people living round collected the skins, skulls, bones etc. which the ogre had amassed and made these drums, and thigh bone trumpets (kang-ling), using them as musical instruments and used the skulls as drinking bowls. They broke up the ogre's body also for this purpose and used his skull, thigh bones, skin etc., and with the musical instruments so made celebrated their rejoicing over his destruction. The ogre had wings and used to fly. This happened before the time of Gautama and before the establishment of Hinduism in India.

No. 132



Object Name: Medical implement for drawing blood

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd January 1913. Two bits of iron 2 1/4" and 2 1/2" long. Used by Tibetan doctors for drawing blood. Enclosed in a brass case 5 1/2" long.

No. 133



Object Name: Neckalace or *kyetrenq*
 Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Tashi Tsering
 Place Made: Tibet
 Date Made: Before 1912
 Date Collected: Before 1912
 Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama and Babu Tashi Tsering on 22nd January 1913. A necklace of light green jade (tsü) and corals, with strings of glass beads. Worn by Tibetan women of Ü province as a necklace on gala occasions. The strings of beads are hooked to the left shoulder and hang vertically down the left front. Given me by the Dalai Lama in 1910 or 1911.

No. 134

Object Name: *Thangka* of Ratnasambhava

Described by: Barmioik Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Pestalozzi School

Per Barmiak Lama on 24th January 1913. Tibetan scroll. In the centre is a figure of Rin-chen Chung-ne (Ratna Sambhava). This scroll is evidently one of a set of five, the other four showing each one of the Gye-wa Ri-nga. On the top centre is Tse pa-me. In the four corners are four of the sixteen elders of the Buddhist church, who were sent out by Buddha on his deathbed to preach Buddhism throughout the world (C.f. Christ's order to his disciples at his Ascension "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to all nations"). These disciples were known as the Ne-ten Chu-truk (ཉེ་འདྲེན་ཅུ་རུ་ཀློང་།) "The Sixteen Firm in their Places". With them went the "four kings of the four quarters of the globe" (ཀླུ་མཆོན་ལྷ་བཟའ་།). The Lama thinks it likely that the other four pictures out of the set of five might show these four kings and the remaining 12 disciples. That the four figures in the corners are Indians and not Tibetans, is seen from the upper portions of their chests being bare. Gautama and the Gye wa Ri-nga are similarly shown with the upper portions of their chests bare. In Chinese pictures the disciples are shown wearing Chinese boots; they spread the Buddhist religion in China. At the bottom centre is a figure of Dzam-pa-lha, the god of wealth. In his right hand he holds a jewel (norbu) and at his feet a heap of jewels; to the left of these are king's earrings, and to the right are the earrings of a queen (square).

No. 135



Object Name: Painting of Dalai Lama blessing pilgrims

Artist: Tandrin Gampo

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Darjeeling or Kalimpong

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 24th January 1913. Picture painted by Tam-drin Gömpo, a Tibetan artist. The Dalai Lama blessing pilgrims. At each side of him an aide-de-camp (Dro-nyer) stands holding a stick of incense. The frame was also made and painted in Tibetan style by a Tibetan.

No. 136



Object Name: Servant's or Mongolian hat or *sok zbra*

Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Palhese

Place Made: Tibet /Mongolia

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Palhese and Barmiok Lama. Mongolian Hat (Sok-sba) Worn by the servants of Tibetan officials. A round hat of red silk with chinese letters on it in yellow; red silk threads..

No. 137



Object Name: Carved image of hermit seated on a stag

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: China / Tibet

Place Collected: Kalimpong

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiak Lama on 24th January 1913. A Chinese picture carved in wood with a red frame. Bought at the Kalimpong Mela. A hermit mounted on a stag (shao) in a cave is offering a fruit to a large bird. The hermit lives in a cave, which is of rock and indestructible. Behind him is a waterfall, the water of which never dries up. It keeps the ground moist and so never fails to nourish the tree on the left hand of the picture, which consequently lives for a very long time. The fruit of this tree nourishes the hermit and the bird and the water satisfies their thirst, so that they too live to a long old age. The stag lives well on the luxuriant grass watered by the inexhaustible water and so also lives to a great old age. The bones of the hermit's head have grown very long with his great age and so the back of his head is elongated. Thus picture is known as the Tse-ring Jong Truk (ཙེ་རིང་འཇོང་རུཀ་) "The Place of the Six Old Ones", the six being the cave, the water, the tree, the man, the stag and the bird. Tibetans and Chinese sometimes keep a picture of this kind in their houses and offer up prayers for long life in front of it.

No. 138



Object Name: Lime box or *trimi*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.7

Per Barmiok Lama on 24th January 1913. Bhutanese pan box, made of brass; 10 1/2" in circumference.

No. 139

Object Name: Lime box or *trimi*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: Possibly related to the signing of the Punakha Treaty in 1910, but may also have been sent as a gift when Bell was in Kalimpong via Bhutan House.

Per Barmiok Lama on 24th January 1913. Bhutanese silver pan box, presented to me by Maharaja of Bhutan and similar to No. 64, but without a picture on the bottom. Circumference measures about 23 1/2".

No. 140

Object Name: *Thangka* of Chenrezi or Avalokiteshvara

Described by: Barmioek Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.112

Per Barmiak Lama on 27th January 1913. Tibetan scroll. In centre large figure is Chenrezi with two arms. Right hand holds a rosary; left hand holds a white lotus. Over the left shoulder and chest hangs the skin of the Tinasara (see No 22) This is almost always represented in pictures of Chenrezi as a sign of his merciful nature. Below is a heap of jewels, resting on a lotus which stands in a pool. In the right hand bottom corner is a figure of Pe-kar (པེ་ཀར་) or Pe-har, the god who enters the body of the State seer at Lhasa (Ne-chung Chö-kyong) when the latter is consulted on matters of the highest importance. On matters of lesser importance, Pe-har's minister, Dorje Traden enters. The Seer or Oracle falls into a trance and prophesies. Pe-har has three heads and six hands. In the left hand bottom is an image, which the Lama says looks like Sam-ye Tsem-mar, but he cannot be sure. This deity is the minister of the deity Tsem-mar who is subordinate to Pe-har Gyalpo. In Tsem-mar's chapel at Sam-ye monastery a written notice is affixed to the wall, which is said to have been written by the orders of Pe-har Gyalpo and which instructs Tsem-mar how to carry on his work. At the top are three garuda birds. The garuda bird (Kyung) is the great enemy of the Mythological serpent (lu). They are represented in the pictures here. The kyungs kills and eats these and snakes (driül), just as the Garuda is represented as the arch enemy of the Nagas. These figures at the top and bottom are not necessary in a picture of Chenrezi; they are shown because the owner of the picture had faith in them and wished to worship them.

No. 141

Object Name: Folding table or *choktse*

Given by: Sidkyong Tulku

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Sikkim

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.3

Per Barmiok Lama on 27th January 1913. Tibetan table, with a lotus in front on which jewels rest. Given me by the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim and made and painted by a Sikkimese. Used as a table, by all priests and laymen.

No. 142



Object Name: Beer jug

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Derge

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: From the description this might well be another Derge or Chamdo iron beer jug from Eastern Tibet, dating to the 13th-15th century.

Per Barmiok Lama on 27th January 1913. Beer jug, made of iron, black with white markings, 12 1/2" high excluding ring at top, with brass band round it. The Lama does not know what the white is made of; it represents the trang-ka-ma which is said to be a Chinese letter, and is a lucky sign. The beer jug is used at picnics and on journeys.

No. 143



- Object Name: *Thangka* of the Four Harmonious Brothers or *mtshun pa spun bzhi*
- Artist: Tsodrak Namgyal
- Given by: Sidkyong Tulku
Described by: Barmiok Lama
- Place Made: Tibet: Chumbi Valley
- Date Made: Before December 1909
Date Collected: 18th December 1909
- Location: Private Collection
- Reference: There are several paintings in this very specific style illustrated in Bell's *The People of Tibet* and *Tibet Past and Present*. In addition, opposite p. 168 in *Tibet Past and Present* there is a colour image of a Tibetan shrine, again the *thangka* on either side look to be by Tsodrak Namgyal.

Per Barmiok Lama on 27th January 1913. Tibetan picture painted by Kusbo of Traring and given me by the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim on 18th December 1909. It is known as the four harmonious brothers" (Tün-pa Pün-shi) Formerly in a country in India known as Ka-sha (?Benares) an elephant, monkey, hare and bird became fast friends. After some time finding that they were treating each other on terms of equality, they agreed that it was fitting that the eldest should be treated with most respect, and then the next eldest and so on. It transpired that the tree, under which they are standing in the picture was planted by the bird, who said there was no tree when he first came, but he dropped a seed and it grew into this tree. The hare said that when he first came, the tree was a few inches high and he used to drink from the young leaves. The monkey said it had a few fruits on when he first came; he remembered taking some. The elephant said the tree was full grown, when he first came. Thus the question of seniority was settled. They then arranged that the eldest should be treated with the greatest respect and then the second eldest and so on. Thus, living model lives and abstaining from all forms of evil, the people of the country came to follow their example, crime ceased, sickness ceased and the country obtained unexampled prosperity. The king thought this was all owing to his good fortune (so-nam), the queen who had married him and come to the country that year, thought it was hers, the ministers thought it was their wise administration. But a prophet came and told the king the truth. The King, queen and ministers went and saw the four harmonious brothers and came to understand. Since that day pictures of this kind are made to show the need for mutual concord and abstaining from evil, for in this way a country becomes happy. After obtaining salvation, Gautama announced that the bird in the picture was himself; the hare was Sharipu one of his disciples; the monkey was Mo-u-kal Kyi-pu another of his disciples; and the elephant was Kün-ga-wa, his (Gautama's) brother. See also Tibetan Random Notes file p. 1

No. 144



Object Name: Painting of Tibetan aristocrats drinking tea

Artist: Tandrin Gombo

Place Made: Darjeeling / Kalimpong

Place Collected: Darjeeling / Kalimpong

Date Made: 1901-02

Date Collected: 1901-02

Location: Unknown

Per Tandrin Gombo the painter, in 1901 or 1902, when he sold me the picture. A picture of a Tibetan gentlemen and lady drinking tea, sitting at tables.

No. 145

Object Name: Oracle's hat or *tsen zbra*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933.0508.59-60

Reference: This is a tentative identification. Bell mentions this hat in his "Diary, Volume 7" on 29/11/20. "The Karmas-par Chö-je is inspired by two or three other dieties also, and he then wears other hats including one known as the tsen-sha a brown hat with large white eyes of which I have one among my curios. The robes and hat used when inspired by the main Chö-kyong seem similar to those used by the Chöje of Dongkar monastery in the Chumbi valley'. This is possibly the leather head ornament in the form of a flaming snake in the BM collection, but this is still to be confirmed.

Per Barmiok Lama on 27th January 1913. Seer's "Power-hat" (བཙན་བྱུང་) used by oracles, when prophesying, at which time a deity enters their bodies. The five skulls are the "Dry Skulls" (tö-kam) showing that the fierce deities enter into these oracles and not the mild ones. The three eyes are also a sign of a fierce deity. These hats are used by the lesser oracles only; Ne-chung Chö-kyong at Lhasa wears a helmet (mok) like a soldiers with flags and feathers on the top.

No. 146



Object Name: Dagger

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Private Collection

Bhutanese dagger in sheath with tragamas on the back of sheath which is 16 1/2" long.

No. 147



Brass Dorje, 4 1/4" long.

Object Name: Ritual object, *dorje* or *vajra*

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: Referred to in a letter between National Museums Liverpool and the Bell Family as being in the family collection. It does not appear to be with the family now and may have been given to the Pestalozzi school in 1963. It was not at the school when an inventory of the Bell collection was made in 2011.

No. 148



Object Name: Woman's amulet box or *ga'u thub zhi*

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is a mandala shaped amulet box worn by women around the neck attached to a string of corals, turquoise and / or dzi beads.

Charm Box (kao). See No. 120, 2" by 1 3/4 excluding triangular pieces on each side.

No. 149

Object Name: Woman's amulet box or *ga'u thub zhi*

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is a mandala shaped amulet box worn by women around the neck attached to a string of corals, turquoise and / or dzi beads.

Charm Box (kao). See No. 120, 1 3/4 square excluding triangular pieces on each side.

No. 150



Object Name: Prayer wheel or *mani lag khor*

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Copper praying wheel. Circumference of wheel is 9". Use as of No 17.

No. 151



Object Name: Shrine-shaped amulet box or *ga'u*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 28th January 1913. A silver box (si-u lba-kang) 5 1/4" high and 3 3/4" broad with an image of Tse-pa-me inside. Front of German silver with Tashi Tagye on it. See also No. 122.

No. 152



Object Name:	Statue of 'Tse pa me or Amitayus
Given by:	Ninth Panchen Lama
Described by:	Barmiok Lama
Place Made:	Tibet: Tashi Lhunpo Monastery
Date Made:	Before 6 th March 1912
Date Collected:	6 th March 1912
Location:	National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.55
Reference:	Bell did not meet with the Panchen Lama in 1912 and this gift may have come via Gould or Macdonald who were stationed at Gyantse and Yartung respectively. Otherwise, the Panchen Lama's agent could have delivered this gift to Bell, on behalf of the Panchen Lama, in Sikkim or in Kalimpong. Bell describes visiting the workshops that made the statues, during his visit in 1906, in his book, <i>Tibet: Past & Present</i> , 'A visit to the Tashi Lama's metal factory found only some thirty artisans at work. They were engaged in turning out five hundred images of the god, 'Tse-pa-me, 'Eternal Life', for distribution to various monasteries throughout Tibet'.

Per Barmiak Lama on 28th January 1913. Image of 'Tse-pa-me given me by the Tashi Lama on the 6th March 1912. 5 1/4" high made of brass, new. The Lama thinks there is sacred writing inside the base, as it is sealed up. Images of 'Tse-pa-me are largely made at Tashi-Lhünpo.

No. 152



Object Name: Ritual plate
 Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Place Collected: Kalimpong / Darjeeling
 Date Made: Before 1912
 Date Collected: Before 1912
 Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 28th January 1913. Shallow brass bowl 15 1/4" in diameter with lotus leaves carved on side. Known as Pe-der i.e "Lotus Plate". Used for carrying fruit etc. Which has been sanctified (ram-ne nang). Also used for Ser-kyem purposes (See No. 9). Used for religious purposes only. Given to me by Dalai Lama in 1912. These pe-ders are made by Tibetans and Newars.

No. 154



Object Name: Incense cylinder

Sourced by: Palhese

Described by: Pahese

Sourced from: Doring Family

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per K. Palhese. K Palhese is related to the Doring family, from whose house in Lhasa these articles were obtained. A pair of leather cylinders, worked in iron, with carved gilt bands 34" long. The leather comes from China. Used for keeping incense sticks. Known as Pö-tong "Incense Case".

No. 155



Object Name: Trumpet

Described by: Pahese

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Late 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiak Lama on 30th January 1913. Copper trumpet 15 1/2 " long. Use same as 82. These trumpets must be blown in pairs Rs. 5/-.

No. 156



Object Name: Thighbone trumpet or *kangling*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Date Made: Late 19th century
 Date Collected: Before January 1913
 Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.76
 Reference: *Tibet catalogue* 1953 Pg 27 No 1

Per Barmiok Lama on 30th January 1913. Thigh bone trumpet, 14" long, bound with brass at one end and leather and brass at the other. Known as *kang-tung*. Use different from 82 and 155. This *kang-tung* is used by Lamas of Nying-ma, Kar-gyu and other sects, except Gelukpa, which do not use it much, for calling demons. The Lama at the same time rattles a large Damaru in his left hand. He calls the demons thus to cremation grounds and lets them feed apparently but not really, on his body. He then preaches to them on the wickedness of their ways and tries to persuade them to give up evil doing. When he has done this at a hundred cremation grounds (ཁྲ་རྒྱུད་) or grounds where corpses are burnt or given to birds, he is qualified to visit sick persons. To these he calls the demons, gives them an apparent but not real, meal on the sick man's body and then sends them away and the sick man recovers. When calling the demons he recites prayers exhorting them to give up their evil ways, that they may go to the god's world, and warning them that otherwise they will go to hell (nya-la).

No. 157



Object Name: Dagger

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: Late 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Private Collection

Bhutanese dagger in iron sheath, gilt, 15 3/4" long.

No. 158



Object Name: Cham dance mask

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Late 19th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This cham mask may form the face of one of Bell's 'soldiers' that guards the staircase in the Gangtok Residency photography, but it is difficult to confirm with so few details

Per Barmiok Lama on 30th January 1913. Mask representing a fierce goddess. Used in religious dances (cham). 16 1/2" from chin to top of topmost skull.

No. 159



Object Name: Soup bowl
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Late 19th century
Date Collected: Before January 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 30th January 1913. Copper bowl bound with brass, 23 1/2" round the base. When there are a few monks only, this is used for their soup (tuk-pa) which is ladled out from it into their drinking bowls. In larger monasteries melted butter is carried in it and ladled into the butter lamps on the altar.

No. 160



Object Name: Pair of cloisonné vases
 Given by: Ninth Chogyal of Sikkim, Thutob Namgyal
 Described by: Barmiak Lama
 Place Made: China
 Place Collected: Gangtok
 Date Made: 18th century
 Date Collected: Around 15th January 1912
 Location: Unknown

Per Barmiak Lama on 30th January 1913. A pair of cloisonne vases, 17 3/4" round thickest part and 12 3/4" long. Used as flower vases on altars, one at each side, with the water cups, butter lamps etc. Between. These two vases, the Lama says, are of good workmanship. Given me by the Maharaja of Sikkim as a wedding present.

No. 161



Object Name: Hanging incense burner

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Around 15th January 1912

Date Collected: Around 15th January 1912

Location: Unknown

Incense bowl of brass with 3 dragons at the side, forming handles, and four chains joining these and the top of the bowl to a brass lid above. Lotus leaves above base. About 13 1/4" round base. Use same as of No. 11

No. 162



Object Name: Folding table or *choktse*

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Tibetan Table. Top 23" by 11 1/2". Old. Used as a table by all, priests and laymen.

No. 163



Object Name: Animal whip

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: late 19th – early 20th century

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.45

Tibetan whip, with leather band to go round wrist and long thong. Handle of cane. This whip would be used by a trader or other ordinary Tibetan as a riding whip. The gentry often use whips with a shorter stock and muleteers use longer stocks and thongs than this.

No. 164



Object Name: Animal whip

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: Before January 1913

Location: Unknown

Ditto, with rather thinner handle

No. 165



Object Name: Food basket or *bangchung*
Place Made: Bhutan
Date Made: Before January 1913
Date Collected: Before January 1913
Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.42

Bhutanese basket 40" round, made of bamboo, painted yellow, red and black. Used for carrying food and other articles.

No. 166



Ditto 29" round.

Object Name: Food basket or *bangchung*
Place Made: Bhutan
Date Made: Before January 1913
Date Collected: Before January 1913
Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.43

No. 167

Object Name: Mendicant monk's staff or *khatvanga*

Described by: Barmiak Lama

Given by: Thirteenth Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before 1912

Date Collected: 1912

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.54

Per Barmiak Lama on 30th January 1913. Used by Gelongs of all sects when they travel. A mendicant priest's staff of iron, with wooden handle and with a chö-ten fixed on its top end. 5' 2" long. The jingling made by the bells drowns out worldly sounds from the ears of the travelling gelong and warns off small animals lest they be trod on and killed (Waddell's Lamaism p. 211 footnote). Buddha's disciples used to carry a staff like this. None below the rank of gelong are allowed to carry it now. Manufactured by Tibetan blacksmiths. Given me by the Dalai Lama in 1912. Known as (འཇམ་གཞིལ་) Kar-sil.

No. 168



Object Name: Printing block for Mahabala

Described by: Barmiok Lama
Given by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Sikkim
Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before January 1913
Date Collected: 30th January 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.56

Given me by Barmiok Lama on 30th January 1913 and explained by him at the same time. Block print figure of the god Ma-ha-Bha-la, carved roughly on a block of birch wood (tak-pa-shing), the block being 7" long by 3 1/4" wide. From this a print of the god is taken and buried in the ground by a lama, who keeps a stone over it, and some earth over the stone, on the top of which a fire is lit. Some earth, fashioned roughly like a chö-ten is placed. The effect of this ceremony is to subdue the class of demons known as si (ཤི་བོ་ལྷ་མོ་) of which there are 13 kinds, and it is performed when it is ascertained by astrology that it will cure a sick man, keep illness from a person during the coming year etc. Many gods can be used for this purpose, but they live in the god's worlds and it takes a long time and many introductory ceremonies to summon them. Ma-ha-bha-la lives in the world and so is more easily called. So he is more often used than the others. The god has the head of a bull, on the top of which are two heads of fierce deities; the lower part of his body is that of a snake. The printing ink can be made by lighting chips of pine wood (Pinus Excelsa) inside a vessel, letting the smoke gather on the lid and then scrape it off. This is the best ink. Carved in Sikkim copying a print brought from Tibet.

No. 169

Object Name: Skull drum or *thod nga*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Given by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: 30th January 1913

Location: Private Collection

Skull drum, 5" long by 4 1/2" broad, given me by Barmiok Lama on 30th January 1913. Use same as that of No. 131. Old but the skins are new. Obtained by Lama in Lhasa.

No. 170

Object Name: Amulet box or *ga'u* with earth offering or *sa nga*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Given by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: 30th January 1913

Location: Unknown

Silver charm box measuring 3" by 2 1/4" with a disc of earth inside. Given me by Barmiok Lama on 30th January 1913 and explained by him. Known as Sa-nga "Incarnation earth" or "Consecrated earth". The Tashi Lama consecrates some earth by uttering incantations over it. The earth is then divided into discs like this and stamped. These sa-ngas are carried about as charms. This particular kind of Sa-nga is known as Ja-sa Kar-ja-ma. It has a dorje on one side and a devil dagger (pu-pa) sticking in a serpent (lu) on the other. The dorje denotes protection against epileptic fits and the dorje and serpent denote power over this class of serpent and thereby protection from skin diseases. Sa-ngas are also taken internally, a small piece of them, to cure colds and coughs, and small pieces are applied externally on sores and swellings. This piece of earth was given to the lama by a monk of Tashi Lhümpo; he got the box made by a Newar.

No. 171



Object Name: Glare glasses and case

Described by: Palhese

Given by: Kusho Lungshar

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: 31st January 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.28

References: *Tibet catalogue* Pg 53 No 3
Tibet Past and Present Pg163

Per K. Palhese on 1st February 1913 given me by Kusha Lungshar, guardian of the Tibetan boys going to England, on his arrival from Lhasa, on 31st January 1913. Chinese spectacle case (mik-she shup) Length 6 3/4", breath 2 3/4". The case is of cardboard with silk thread embroidery and Chinese letters in red on it. Tassels of red silk thread. At other end is a red lop with a china bead on it.

No. 172



Object Name: Men's false pocket

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before January 1913

Date Collected: 31st January 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: Likely also given by Kusho Lungshar, as Palhese describes this and 171 as a 'set'.

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Yellow silk bag 14" long, with loop of red silk cord. This is worn with the spectacles case (171), both hanging down from the left hip. A few coins are sometimes carried in this bag; otherwise it is carried empty.

No. 173

Object Name: Sword or *rel dri*

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Pomed

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before February 1913

Date Collected: 1st February 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.64

Reference: There is another, almost identical Po county sword in the National Museums Liverpool collection, 50.31.25, likely from the same group of objects acquired from a group of Tibetan men, who had escaped after being held prisoner by the Abors.

Tibet catalogue 1953 Pg 86 No 19

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Sword 31 3/4" long including handle, which is of wood bound with cane. Sheath of wood one side only, bound with similar cane. This kind of sword and sheath is made by the people of the Po county in Tibet.

No. 174

Object Name: Sword or *rel dri*

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Pomed

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before February 1913

Date Collected: 1st February 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.124

Reference: Acquired at the same time as the sword from a group of Tibetan men, who had escaped after being held prisoner by the Abors.

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Bow made in the Po province of Tibet. 5' 3 1/2" long, made of bamboo.

No. 175



Object Name: Quiver and arrows

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Pomed

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before February 1913

Date Collected: 1st February 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: Acquired at the same time as the sword from a group of Tibetan men, who had escaped after being held prisoner by the Abors.

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. 18 arrows in quiver of which 8 have no heads. The heads are poisoned before use. Length of arrows 25", length of quiver 28 1/2". Arrows and quiver are made of bamboo. To the quiver is attached a net work of bamboo, used for carrying the poison for the arrows. The quiver is called Da-tong.

No. 176



Object Name: Raincoat

Described by: Palhese
Netuk OrderlyPlace Made: Northeastern India
Place Collected: Sikkim: GangtokDate Made: Before February 1913
Date Collected: 1st February 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: Acquired at the same time as the sword from a group of Tibetan men, who had escaped after being held prisoner by the Abors.

Per K Palhese and Netuk Lepcha orderly on 1st February 1913. Coat worn by Abors, made from fibre extracted from the jungle, coloured white and brown.

No. 177



Object Name: Raincoat

Described by: Palhese
Netuk Orderly

Place Made: Northeastern India
Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before February 1913
Date Collected: 1st February 1913

Location: Unknown

Same as 176. Articles 173 to 177 inclusive were bought from two Tibetans, who has been kept as prisoners for some years by the Abors. They escaped to Sadiya and were brought to Gangtok for repatriation and at Gangtok I bought the above things from them. These two Tibetans were men of the Po or neighbouring provinces.

No. 178

Object Name: Bow and arrows or *shu dang da*

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Lhasa

Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: 1860-1870

Date Collected: Before 1st February 1913

Location: Unknown

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Tibetan bow (shu) and arrows (da). Used for archery of which the Tibetans are very fond. The bow is 3' 11" long, the arrows 3' 2" long. The bow is made of bull's horn bound with the bark of the bamboo. Made by Tibetans throughout Tibet. The bow is 40 or 50 years old. The arrows are made of bamboo, bound near the head with the inner skin of animals, e.g. ox, coloured red. The arrows have flat heads. Obtained from the Palba mansion in Lhasa.

No. 179



Object Name: Bow
Described by: Palhese
Given by: Thutob Namgyal

Place Made: Sikkim
Place Collected: Sikkim: Gangtok

Date Made: Before February 1913
Date Collected: Before 1st February 1913

Location: Unknown

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Sikkimese bow. (E-ma) made of bamboo, 5' 11" long, with arrows 2' 9 1/2" long. Used archery. The arrows have round heads. Given me by Maharaja of Sikkim.

No. 180



Object Name: Helmet or *mok*

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 1600-1800

Date Collected: Before 1st February 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.125

Reference: Bell makes three entries for helmets, one of them is likely to be in the British Museum, but as Bell doesn't record any descriptive information that could identify individual helmets, it is impossible at this stage to narrow this down.

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Tibetan helmets of various patterns. All are 100 to 300 years old. Helmets are not now made in Tibet owing to the increase of modern firearms.

No. 181



Object Name: Helmet or *mok*

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 1600-1800

Date Collected: Before 1st February 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.125

Reference: Bell makes three entries for helmets, one of them is likely to be in the British Museum, but as Bell doesn't record any descriptive information that could identify individual helmets, it is impossible at this stage to narrow this down.

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Tibetan helmets of various patterns. All are 100 to 300 years old. Helmets are not now made in Tibet owing to the increase of modern firearms.

No. 182



Object Name: Helmet or *mok*

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 1600-1800

Date Collected: Before 1st February 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.125

Reference: Bell makes three entries for helmets, one of them is likely to be in the British Museum, but as Bell doesn't record any descriptive information that could identify individual helmets, it is impossible at this stage to narrow this down.

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Tibetan helmets of various patterns. All are 100 to 300 years old. Helmets are not now made in Tibet owing to the increase of modern firearms.

No. 183



Object Name: Gun

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Nepal

Place Collected: Gangtok

Date Made: 19th centuryDate Collected: Before 1st February 1913

Location: Unknown

Nepalese gun 3' 7" long. Attached from a Nepalese village in Sikkim, who held it without a license, and subsequently bought in at the auction sale.

No. 184



Object Name: Beer or *toongba* jug

Described by: Netuk Orderly

Place Made: Sikkim

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before 1st February 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.23

Reference: *The People of Tibet*, 242, 'In Sikkim, a land of forests, wooden beer jugs find favour, among other varieties from the tree *Bohmeria rugulosa*, whose wood is dark red and heavy with fine medullary rays.

Tibet catalogue 1953 Pg 76 No 11

Described in the Tibet 1953 catalogue as a small portable tea churn, being used for picnics or other occasions when only a small quantity of tea was required.

*Per Netuk orderly on 1st February 1913. Sikkim beer jug, 10 1/4" long and 15 3/4" round. Used for drinking marua. Made of a tree (*Böhmeria Rugulosa*) whose wood is dark red, heavy with fine medullary rays.*

No. 185

Object Name: Hat or *z̧hra bog*

Described by: Palhese

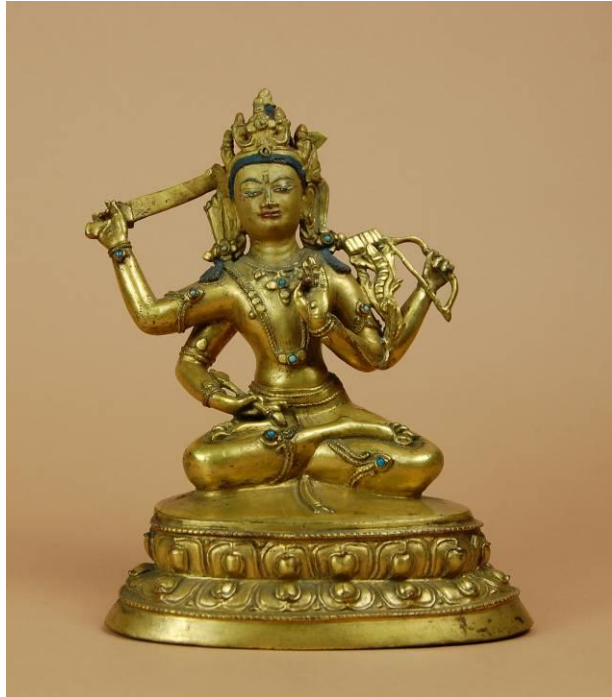
Place Made: Tibet: Ü-Tsang

Date Made: Before 1st February 1913Date Collected: Before 1st February 1913

Location: Unknown

Per K Palhese on 1st February 1913. Yellow Tibetan Tam o' shanter hat (Bok-do). Worn by all Tibetans high and low. A villager may wear a hat of this kind, when going before an official or other gentleman, a gentleman may wear it when going into town, visiting friends etc. These hats are made in various qualities. The Tibetan batters (sham-so) come mostly from Gyantse and Shigatse.

No. 186



Object Name: Statue of Jampalyang or Manjushri
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Date Made: 1850s
 Date Collected: Before March 1913
 Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.64

Per Barmiok Lama on 6th March 1913. Image of four handed Jampeyang called Tsen-jö Jam-pe-yang. The image is of copper gilt, perhaps 50 or 60 years old. It is well-made. In one right hand he holds the "Sword of Knowledge", in one left hand a lotus stalk on the flower of which rests the "Book of Limitless Knowledge (she-chin) (ཤེ་ཅིན་). In the other pair of hands he carries the "Bow and Arrow of Knowledge". Round his body are two necklaces. 7" high.

No. 187

Object Name: Cymbals or *ting shag*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet / Nepal

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 6th March 1913. A pair of cymbals made of bell metal 11 3/4" in diameter. Used in many ways in religious ceremonies; e.g. In summoning the deities both "mild" and "fierce" to partake of offerings made to them. The Lama thinks this pair was made by a Newar. Chinese also make cymbals, using bell metal of better quality than this and Bhutanese make them of rather thicker bell metal and with the hollow part larger and the rim smaller. Tibetans do not make cymbals.

No. 188



Object Name: Pen case
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 6th March 1913. Iron pen case, 13 inches long. Used by priests and laymen. A common type.

No. 189



Object Name: Pen case
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet: Derge
 Date Made: 18th-19th century
 Date Collected: Before March 1913
 Location: Private Collection

Per Barmiok Lama on 6th March 1913. Ditto of open work and with the iron gilt. 14 3/4 inches long and some 100 to 200 years old. Tibetans have lost the art nowadays of piercing iron through like this and carving it. Used by priests and laymen.

No. 190

Object Name: Bone ornaments or *ru gyen*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.65-68

Per Barmiok Lama on 6th March 1913. Rüggen i.e "Bone Ornament". Supposed to be made of human bones, but often made of animals' bones and sometimes from elephant tusks. The Lama thinks mine are made from animals' bones e.g of pony or cattle, because human bones would not, he thinks be large enough to give such good figures. One part is worn round the neck and hangs over the chest; the other round the waist and hangs lower down. There are also wristlets.

No. 191

Object Name: Bone ornaments or *ru gyen*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiak Lama on 6th March 1913. Ditto but smaller.

No. 192



Object Name: Bone ornaments or *ru gyen*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 6th March 1913. Ditto smallest of the three

No. 193



Object Name: Container
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama 6th March 1913. Circular brass vessel the base being 9 1/2" in diameter, with lid and handle. Used for keeping valuables, e.g. money etc.

No. 194



Object Name: *Serkyem* ritual vessel

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama 6th March 1913. A pair of copper vessels with brass handles, spouts, bands etc. 15" round the base. Used for pouring out beer (chang) in the Serkyem ceremony. See No. 9. Also used for pouring water into water vessels on the altars of chapels.

No. 195



Object Name: *Serkyem* ritual vessel

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 6th March 1913. Copper vessel with brass handle, base etc. 12 3/4" round base. Use similar to that of 194.

No. 196



Object Name: Grease vessel or *zha lug*
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.32

Per Barmiok Lama on 7th March 1913. Circular copper vessel. Circular hole at top, 3 inches across with German silver work round it. Called sha-luk "grease receptacle". The grease from the top of tea, caused by the butter etc. Blown to the side, when the tea is finished this scum remains and is thrown into this bowl.

No. 197



Object Name: Grease vessel or *zha lug*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Ditto

No. 198



Object Name: Grease vessel or *zha lug*
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.32

Ditto

No. 199



Object Name: Tsampa container or *ser shog*
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet
 Date Made: Before March 1913
 Date Collected: Before March 1913
 Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.41

Per Barmiok Lama on 7th March 1913. Circular wooden vessel, 30 1/2 inches round at broadest part. Dark brown with bits of gold paper (she-shok = ཤེས་ཤོག) remaining on it. Called ship-por and used for keeping barley flour in.

No. 200

Object Name: Tsampa container or *ser shog*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Private Collection

Per Barmiok Lama on 7th March 1913. Circular wooden vessel, 21 1/2 inches round the broadest part, with a yellow polish and with designs on it done with red paint. The yellow polish is said to be done with a mixture of turmeric (ཁྲ་ལྷོ་མེད་) or in Sikkimese (ཁྲ་ལྷོ་མེད་) and a semi transparent stone (ཁྲ་ལྷོ་མེད་). Use as of 199 for keeping barley flour in. There is a book showing how to mix different kinds of polish. It is known as (ཁྲ་ལྷོ་མེད་). It deals with enamelling too. It has 10 or 15 pages and the Barmiok Lama has a copy. There is no block press for it.

No. 201

Object Name: Butter lamp or *chö me* (*gong*)

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 7th March 1913. Butter lamp of bell metal 3 1/2 inches high, called Chö-kong (མཚོ་རྟ་ཁྱེད་).

No. 202



Object Name: Offering stand

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.89

Per Barmiak Lama on 7th March 1913. Brass tripod stand. On it is placed a tormo (offering of grain) or mandala (sacred circle formed of rice, gems etc).

No. 203



Object Name: Clay offering of Padmasambhava

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 8th March 1913. Clay slab 8 1/4" high, flat at the bottom, arched at the top, painted red all round, with picture on it. This kind of slab is known as Men dam Par i.e. "The picture of spiced clay." Such slabs are kept on the altars of chapels. This particular picture represents Padma Sambhava in the centre sitting in the Sang-do Pe-ri Palace, i.e. in the palace on "the glorious copper coloured mountain." See No. 7.

No. 204



Object Name: Offering vessels and implements

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 8th March 1913. Copper dish, flat, circular, 11 3/4 inches in diameter. On it stands a copper tripod and on this a flat, circular copper dish 5 1/4 inches in diameter, with a disc of silver with Devanagari characters in the middle of it. The larger dish has a silver disc in the middle of it with Chinese writing on it. With these are a copper ladle, 13 inches long and a copper vessel, 4 1/2 inches across the base, with a silver tipped spout, and a Nepalese silver coin in the centre of the outside of the lid. Barley flour or rice worked into the shape of beads is taken out of a vessel (e.g No. 200) with the ladle and put into the smaller dish and offered to "The Three Precious Ones" (Kön-chok Sum). Then water is poured from the covered vessel into the smaller dish and offered to Yi-das. "Om Mani Padme Hun" is recited while doing above. One of the punishments given to Yidas is thirst and great heat like the lighting of a fire inside their bodies. The water so given cools them and assuages their thirst.

No. 205



Object Name: Offering vessels and implements

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet / Gangtok

Date Made: On or before March 1913

Date Collected: Around March 1913

Location: 1933,0508.19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25

Copper ewer 11 1/2 inches high with embossed discs of German silver, representing leaves of trees on each side (Cha-ma Pum-pa). Also a copper Pü-kyok 4 inches high. Also a copper Pe-der 6 3/4 inches across broadest part. These are parts of a Serkyem set. See No. 9. Also a copper Ne-se made in Gangtok in March 1913 by a Kami; this completes the set.

No. 206



Object Name: Grease vessel or *zha lug*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Same as 196.

No. 207



Object Name: Grease vessel or *zha lug*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Same as 196.

No. 208



Object Name: Lamp
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 10th March 1913. Iron Lamp. Use same as that of No. 28. It has an extra storey; one of the lengths of iron can be taken out (the lower one) and the upper length fastened on to the lowest saucer. The middle saucer is also taken out. These iron lamps are made by Tibetan smiths (garra), but not by Newars, who do not work in iron. The lettering below the lowest saucer is Chinese. Similar lettering to this is put on silks and on tents.

No. 209



Object Name: Ladle
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.33

Per Barmiok Lama on 10th March 1913. Brass ladle, with handle 11 inches long. Used for ladling water or tea etc.

No. 210



Object Name: Financial Seal

Described by: Barmiok Lama
Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 10th March 1913. Tibetan seal with handle of brass and base of iron. On the base is the word jor (འཇོར་) meaning "received". (see also Palhese's Supplementary Notes No 14, page 27.) [In margin - Palhese says this འཇོར་ must have been ..t of name e.g འཇོར་རྒྱལ་ (jor gye) the name of the owner of the seal.] This seal is used for giving receipts for money, grain, butter, etc. etc. Well-to-do persons have a seal of this kind for giving receipts for money, as well as a general seal for putting on letters etc. After putting on the seal containing this word "Received", the recipient does not put any signature, but the receipt document contains his name; e.g "Dorje Namgyal has received from Dawa Tsering the sum of twenty rupees", and then the seal is affixed at the end of the writing as above: - The above ink being English not Tibetan, which is thicker and blacker, the impression is a poor one.) Length of seal is 1 1/4 inches.

No. 211



Object Name: Lock
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 10th March 1913. Tibetan lock 4" by 3 3/4" and key.

No. 212



Object Name: Lock

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Ditto 2 3/4" by 2".

No. 213



Object Name: Lock
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Ditto, 2 inches square.

No. 214



Object Name: Tea strainer

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.31

Per Barmiok Lama on 10th March 1913. Tibetan tea-strainer of copper with handle 3 3/4" in diameter across top. The tea is taken out of the pot, in which it is boiled, with the ladle No. 209 and ladled into this strainer, which retains the tea leaves, while the tea passes on into a wooden or bamboo churn, where it is mixed with butter and salt, by churning. It is then ready for drinking and is poured into the teapot, in which it is passed round and poured into the tea cups. The tea is put into the boiling pot with cold water and boiled. With the tea and water is put a kind of earth or soda, bitter in taste brought from North Tibet, the effect of which is to make the tea richer. If this earth is not available, wood ash is substituted. This earth is called (Pü-to) (ཕུ་ཏོ་ཁྱེ་).

No. 215



Object Name: Lid
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 10th March 1913. Lid for wooden bowl. Should be used on a bowl of poor quality, not on No. 128, which should have a lid of silver, silver gilt etc.

No. 216



Object Name: Ink pot
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 12th March 1913. Tibetan inkpot of copper with wooden lid 3 1/4" high. Chips and twigs of pine are burnt in an earthen pot. Another earthen pot is placed over this one and the soot collects in the upper pot. The soot is mixed with water and is then ready for use as ink. Or the soot may be mixed with fried rice, which has been well powdered. The mixture is then soaked in water and is ready for use as ink.

No. 217



Object Name: Mani stone

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Nyang Chu Valley

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 12th March 1913. Slate slab taken off a mendang in the Nyang valley near Kala Tso in Tibet. 11 1/4" by 7 1/4". At the top is a hole for hanging it over a door. On it is inscribed Om Pe-mo U ni Ka Bu-male Hun Pe. Hail to the god Pe-mo etc "Hun Pe" is a mystic formula, which is often put at the end of inscription. To pass frequently under an inscription containing the name of the above god cleanses from sins. The above name of the god "Pemo U-ni ka Bi-ma Le" is in Sanskrit. The Tibetan equivalent name would be "Pe-ma Tsuk or Tri me" "The Lotus one with the tufted head who is without stain". Gautama's head had a tuft on the top, the head itself not the hair, being shaped thus. The above inscription is sometimes written on paper and pasted over a door. It has the same merit thus as when inscribed on stone or slate.

No. 218



Object Name: Mani stone
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet: Nyang Chu Valley
 Date Made: Before March 1913
 Date Collected: Before March 1913
 Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 12th March 1913. Stone prayer slab taken from Nyang Chu valley, the same mendang as that from which 217 was taken. 11" broad at broadest place and 11 1/2" high at highest place. The inscription is on top, Om A Hun and below Om Mani Pe-me Hun Om (beginning another Om Mani Pe-me Hun, the slab being broken here) and below again Pe me Hun.

Om represents the body (ku) of every Buddha

A " speech (sung) " "

Hun " mind (tuk) " "

No. 219



Object Name: Mani stone
 Described by: Barmiok Lama
 Place Made: Tibet: Nyang Chu Valley
 Date Made: Before March 1913
 Date Collected: Before March 1913
 Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 12th March 1913. Stone prayer slab taken from same Mendang as 217 and 216. 17" by 13". A figure of Tse-pa-me with Sanskrit inscription below; "Om A-ma-ra-ni ẓi wen Ti-ye-so Ha", "Hail to the long lived one". The figure is made by being drawn on the stone and the lines cut out with a kind of chisel.

No. 220

Object Name: *Thangka* of Chenrezi or Avalokiteshvara

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Early 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.108

Per Barmiok Lama on 12th March 1913. Tibetan scroll. In the centre is a figure of Chenrezi, four-armed. Above from left to right are Gautama, Ö-pa me (Amitabha) and Dorje Nam-jom. The latter god presides over ceremonies of cleansing from impurities. In certain illnesses, caused by devils introducing impurities into the body, a water called trii, is used for washing the affected part. This water is made by the Lamas after invoking the name of Dorje Namgyal. Such water is at present being used to bathe the eyes of the Maharaja of Sikkim, whose eye-sight has turned very weak after a tour in Sikkim. Below these are, left Dorje Sempa, a white figure, and right green Döl-ma. Below these from left to right are Jam-pe-yang, Padma Sambhava and Cha-na Dorje. Below these are the two wives of Padma Sambhava, namely Men-da Ra-wa on left and Ye-she Tso-gye on right. Between the wives is a bowl of fruits, meats etc. which they have placed for Padma Sambhava.

No. 221



Object Name: Incense bowl
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 18th March 1913. Tibetan incense bowl. Use same as that of No. 11

No. 222

Object Name: *Thangka* of Wheel of Life

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.118

Wheel of Life. Chenrezi in top left hand and Ö-pa-me in top right hand corner. For detailed description see Tibet Random Notes File 14. The figure presiding in hell is Yama, called in Tibetan Chökyi Gyalpo, i.e. "The King of Religion". Per Barmiok Lama on 18th March 1913.

No. 223



Object Name: *Thangka* of Padmasambhava as Guru Dragpo

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.109

Per Barmiak Lama on 18th March 1913. Tibetan scroll. Central figure is "The Fierce Teacher" (Guru Trakpo) with 3 heads and 6 arms. In one hand he holds a scorpion, because when he meets ghosts of wicked men (gye-po), the scorpion eats them. His disciples round him carry, some of them, scorpions; others carry pur-pas. Persons suffering from illnesses caused by these ghosts worship "The fierce teacher."

No. 224

Object Name: *Thangka* of Chana Dorje or Vajrapani

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.110

Per Barmiok Lama on 18th March 1913. Image of Cha-na Dorje. The mirror etc. Denoting the five senses at the foot, shows that the picture was painted in the memory of a relation or friend. The five senses mean that he hopes the deceased will be reborn in a state where he will eat and drink good things, see and hear pleasant things etc. etc. Sometimes an image of the deceased is painted instead of the five senses.

No. 225



Object Name: Monastic boots

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 18th March 1913. Red boots (Ja-chen Tse-ka) worn by Tibetan ecclesiastical officials of the 4th grade upwards.

No. 226



Object Name: Pony Bell
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: Before March 1913
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.50

Per Barmiok Lama on 28th March 1913. Bell hung on neck of riding pony or mule. It has Chinese lettering on it, to bring good luck.

No. 227



Object Name: Sword and sheath

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Ladakh/ Tibet: Ngari

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.62

Per K. Palhese. Curved sword and sheath, used in Western Tibet.

No. 228



Object Name: Dagger

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Bhutanese dagger in copper sheath.

No. 229



Object Name: Sword or *rel dri*

Place Made: Derge

Date Made: Before March 1913

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.122

Reference: There is an identical sword in the Liverpool collection,
50.31.26

Sword of Eastern Tibetan. The sheath has three imitation corals on it.

No. 230



Object Name: Sword and sheath

Place Made: Tibet: Ü-Tsang

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.24

Reference: *Tibet* catalogue, Pg 86, No 20

Sword of Central Tibetan Officer, e.g. of one from Lhasa or Shigatse. The sheath has silver work at top and bottom, the intervening part being silk.

No. 231



Object Name: Pottery pieces from Daramdin tower

Place Made: Sikkim: Daramdin

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.101-106

Reference: Sikkim Random Notes II, 4.

Naong legend states that several thousand years ago the Naong people (a Lepcha-Limbu indigenous community in Sikkim) tried to build a tower of clay pots to the sky. As the tower grew the man standing on top of the tower thought he could hear the cocks crowing in the sky and called down to those below to send up a hook so that he could pull down the sky. By the time his request got to the base of the tower, it had changed. The request was to pull out the pots from the base, which they did. The tower killed many as it fell. Bell requested a community elder to come to the residency and tell him the story, he also asked for fragments of the pots, which were given to him at the same time.

Five pieces of earthenware. Supposed to be pieces of the pots, with which the Na-ons tried to build their tower up to the sky.

No. 232



Object Name: Whistling arrows

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.69-70

Per Barmiak Lama on 22nd March 1913. 4 arrows with wooden blocks with holes instead of points. Used by Tibetans. When sped from the bow, they make whistling sound. The shafts are of bamboo.

No. 233



Object Name: Matchlock prong gun

Described by: Barmiok Lama
Tashi Tsering

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.123

Reference: There is a near identical matchlock gun with horn prong in the Liverpool collection 50.31.8

Per Barmiok Lama and Babu Tashi Tsering on 22nd March 1913. Tibetan prong gun, 4' 9 1/2" long with silver work on it. The slit in the hammer holds the tow for firing the powder.

No. 234

Object Name: *Thangka* of one of the 16 Arhats

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 1850s

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Private Collection

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd March 1913. Tibetan scroll. One of the *ne-ten chu-truk* i.e one of the 16 Buddhist missionaries who are supposed to have preached the Buddhist doctrine in the various mythical islands and continents of the Buddhist cosmogony. In his right hand he holds an incense bowl with a handle shaped like a dragon; in his left a fan made from a white yak-tail. Below a servant is offering him one of the sacred volumes. (See Waddell's "*Lamaism*" page 376). This picture is painted entirely with Tibetan paint, no Indian paint being used. It seems to be 50 or 60 years old and with care should last another 200 years. The chief thing to bear in mind for the preservatin of pictures is to fold them up evenly; otherwise the paint is liable to crack. In Tibet they may be kept always hanging on the walls, but in a warm and misty place like Gangtok, they should be taken down in the rains. Mist and smoke are very injurious to them.

No. 235



Object Name: Pair of telescopic long horn or *ru dung*

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.37

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd March 1913. A pair of Tibetan trumpets, one 5' 10" long the other slightly shorter, made in Bhutan. Of copper with brass ornamentation. Use same as that of No. 6. Known as "The great Trumpet" or "The Red Trumpet".

No. 236



Object Name: Quiver and arrows

Described by: Barmiok Lama

Place Made: Sikkim

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before March 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama on 22nd March 1913. Sikkim bow. 5' 5" long and quiver 2' 9" long with 6 arrows. The latter have flat iron heads. These are poisoned for fighting or for shooting animals.

No. 237



Object Name: Fiddle
Described by: Barmiok Lama
Tashi Tsering
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: 19th century
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Barmiok Lama and Babu Tashi Tsering on 22nd March 1913. Tibetan beggar's fiddle and bow, the latter broken. The fiddle should have four strings and the bow should be kept between them.

No. 238



Object Name: Powder horn
Described by: Purbu Orderly
Place Made: Tibet
Date Made: 19th century
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.58

Per Purbu Lepcha orderly on 22nd March 1913. 3 Tibetan powder horns made of yak horn, tied with a yak hide thong. The powder is tipped out of each end of the horn down the muzzle to the gun, No. 233. Half of each horn contains one charge. The small wooden vessels also each hold one charge and from then the powder is measured into the powder horns. The rest of the powder is carried in a bag. The small leather bag carries the ton, used for firing the powder. The fire is made with flints.

No. 239



Object Name: Sword or *bata ben*

Described by: Ugyen Wangchuk

Place Made: Bhutan

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: May 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.71 (sword only)

Bhutanese sword. Sheath measures 23 1/4 inches in length and is of silver with five silver bands in the middle and some gilt bands and a flat base. The sword measures 30". This sword is known as pe-li. It was worn in the old times by the Bhutanese Chiefs. With it is a set of clothes, worn by Bhutanese Chiefs in the old times. The above were given me by the Maharaja of Bhutan in May 1913.

No. 240



Object Name: Sword and leather sheath

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Derge

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913. Bell was on an inspection tour of the Gyantse area and stopped at Drongtse for five day. Drongtse being the home of the Pha lha family. A substantial number of these items came from the Pha lha residence in Lhasa, Bangyeshar House, the house had been badly damaged during the Tibet-Chinese War of 1910-11, although it was rebuilt and again functioning as a home by the time of Bell's visit in 1920-21.

Old Tibetan sword in leather sheath made in Derge. Formerly carried by officers, but now by servants, as nowadays officers carry more ornate sheaths. Bought from Palhese who got it from the Palha house (Banggye-sbar) at Lhasa, and who says it is more than 100 years old. Price Rs 15/-

No. 241



Object Name: Ceramic pillow

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.38

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913. Bell was on an inspection tour of the Gyantse area and stopped at Drongtse for five day. Drongtse being the home of the Pha lha family. A substantial number of these items came from the Pha lha residence in Lhasa, Bangyeshar House, the house had been badly damaged during the Tibet-Chinese War of 1910-11, although it was rebuilt and again functioning as a home by the time of Bell's visit in 1920-21.

Blue China figure with two holes in the bottom. To be filled with water and head to be laid on it, when sleeping, for coolness' sake in hot weather. Said to be old. Brought from Bang-gye-shar house. Price Rs 15/-

No. 242



Object Name: Vase

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: China: Jingdezhen

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913. Bell was on an inspection tour of the Gyantse area and stopped at Drongtse for five day. Drongtse being the home of the Pha lha family. A substantial number of these items came from the Pha lha residence in Lhasa, Bangyeshar House, the house had been badly damaged during the Tibet-Chinese War of 1910-11, although it was rebuilt and again functioning as a home by the time of Bell's visit in 1920-21.

Dark red china flower vase with two handles and rectangular top. Said to be very old. Bought from Palhese. From Bang-gye-sbar house. Price Rs 60/

No. 243



Object Name: Vase

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: China: Jingdezhen

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913. Bell was on an inspection tour of the Gyantse area and stopped at Drongtse for five day. Drongtse being the home of the Pha lha family. A substantial number of these items came from the Pha lha residence in Lhasa, Bangyeshar House, the house had been badly damaged during the Tibet-Chinese War of 1910-11, although it was rebuilt and again functioning as a home by the time of Bell's visit in 1920-21.

This vase was believed to be at Pestalozzi school having been sent there in 1963, following its loan to Liverpool Museum in 1950. It was not present when an inventory was taken in 2011.

Dark red circular topped china flower vase said to be very old. Brought by Palhese from Bang-gye-sbar. Price Rs 40/-

No. 244



Jade slab for preparing Chinese ink. Brought by Palhese from Bang-gye-shar. Price Rs 6/-

Object Name: Ink slab

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.85

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913. Bell was on an inspection tour of the Gyantse area and stopped at Drongtse for five day. Drongtse being the home of the Pha lha family. A substantial number of these items came from the Pha lha residence in Lhasa, Bangyeshar House, the house had been badly damaged during the Tibet-Chinese War of 1910-11, although it was rebuilt and again functioning as a home by the time of Bell's visit in 1920-21.

Tibet catalogue Pg 60 No 17

No. 246



Object Name: Cloisonné teapot

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913. Bell was on an inspection tour of the Gyantse area and stopped at Drongtse for five day. Drongtse being the home of the Pha lha family. A substantial number of these items came from the Pha lha residence in Lhasa, Bangyeshar House, the house had been badly damaged during the Tibet-Chinese War of 1910-11, although it was rebuilt and again functioning as a home by the time of Bell's visit in 1920-21.

Cloisonne tea pot with cup saucer and lid. From Bang-gye-sbar Rs 100/-

No. 247



Object Name: Pair of cloisonné vases

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913. Bell was on an inspection tour of the Gyantse area and stopped at Drongtse for five day. Drongtse being the home of the Pha lha family. A substantial number of these items came from the Pha lha residence in Lhasa, Bangyeshar House, the house had been badly damaged during the Tibet-Chinese War of 1910-11, although it was rebuilt and again functioning as a home by the time of Bell's visit in 1920-21.

A pair of cloisonne flower vases, 13" high and 13" round the top. From Bang-gye-shar. Rs 60/-.

No. 248

Object Name: Beer or *chang* jug

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Derge

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 13th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.11

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913 (see above entries).

The People of Tibet p. 242, 'Some of the Tibetan beer jugs are very handsome. The best come from Der-ge. They are of damascene work, silver and gilt on an iron base; their shape flat or cylindrical. These are used for giving beer at entertainments, and for offerings in the temples on behalf of those who suffer agonies from starvation in one of the hells. Others are used for picnics and pon journeys. Some of the types are rare and highly prized, being of fine craftsmanship that cannot be equalled now.

Tibet catalogue Pg 99 No 7

Tibet, G Tucci 1967 Fig 92

Beer jug of Damascene work, 12 1/2" high and 22" round the base. Shape cylindrical. Silver and gilt work on iron base. Made in Derge. Palhese says it is very old and that Tibetans cannot do such good work in Tibet nowadays. From Bang-gye-shar. Price Rs 150/-. There are very few in Tibet nowadays; used for giving beer at entertainments by gentry and the well-to-do. Called རྩུག་པོ།

No. 249



Object Name: Beer or *chang* jug
 Described by: Palhese
 Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Derge
 Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 18th century
 Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Private Collection

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913 (see above entries).

The People of Tibet p. 242, 'Some of the Tibetan beer jugs are very handsome. The best come from Der-ge. They are of damascene work, silver and gilt on an iron base; their shape flat or cylindrical. These are used for giving beer at entertainments, and for offerings in the temples on behalf of those who suffer agonies from starvation in one of the hells. Others are used for picnics and pon journeys. Some of the types are rare and highly prized, being of fine craftsmanship that cannot be equalled now.'

Flat beer jug, damascene work, 15" high, silver worked on iron base. Made in Derge. From Bang-gye-shar Rs 40/-. Carried by servants of gentlemen and ladies when making serkyem offerings in the temples etc called སྐུ་ལེན།

No. 250



Brass tea pot Plain old. From Bang-gye-sbar Rs 12/-.

Object Name: Teapot

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.17

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913 (see above entries).

The People of Tibet, 239

No. 251



Object Name: Travelling cup case

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Derge

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913 (see above entries).

Pierced iron case. For carrying a cup etc. On a journey. 16 1/2" round the top. Palhese says it is 200 years or so old. Brought from his family house, named Bang-gye-shat, at Lhasa. Price Rs 15/-.

No. 252

Object Name: Ritual vessel or *jinse*

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913 (see above entries).

Brass Jin-se, shaped like an animal, large squat head, short tail turned up, hole in top, with two other small holes for incense sticks. Large hole in bottom. Oil with rice and other grain is poured through this animal on to a plate below, as food for a dead man on his journey to the next world, this being done, when a corpse is burnt. The oil, rice etc. are then poured on to the corpse, while the corpse is still being burnt. From Bang-gye-shar price Rs 15/-/-.

No. 253



Object Name: Incense bowl

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913 (see above entries).

Incense bowl, stand and lid, 14 3/4" round stand, with flower ornamentation. From Bang-gye-shar house; Rs 25/-.

No. 254



Object Name: Folding table or *choktse*

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Lhasa

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.6

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913 (see above entries).

Tibet catalogue, 83, No 2

Tibetan table, 19 3/4" long, 12" broad and 7 1/4" high. Does not fold, lid takes off, and so makes a box. Flower ornamentation. Made at Lha-gya-ri-gyalpo's house, and bought from Lha-gya-ri gyalpo's house. Rs [rest missing]

No. 255

Object Name: Folding table or *choktse*

Described by: Palhese

Bought from: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Lhasa

Place Collected: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This is one of a large group of items bought from Palhese between 5th - 10th July 1913 (see above entries).

Tibetan folding table, 19 3/4" long, 12" broad, 9 3/4" high. Flower ornamentation at sides. Made at Lha-gya-ri and bought from Lha-gya-ri gyalpo's house. Price Rs 20/- Nos. 240 to 255 inclusive were bought from and described by K. Palhese in July 1913.

No. 256



Object Name: Woman's earrings

Place Made: Tibet: Kham

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: These sound likely to be from the Batang area and may be *chusin kamo* style earrings.

One pair of earrings of Eastern Tibetan woman. Silver and false coral. Price Rs 4/-

No. 257



Object Name: Spade

Place Made: Tibet: Gyantse

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This group of farming tools, from Gyantse and recorded after the group sourced by Palhese also hint at a Phalha connection to their acquisition.

Agricultural implements as used in Gyantse as follows, Nos. 257 to 262 inclusive. Spade (kem) Price R. 1/8.

No. 258



Hoe (tok-tse) Rs 2/-.

Object Name: Hoe

Place Made: Tibet: Gyantse

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This group of farming tools, from Gyantse and recorded after the group sourced by Palhese also hint at a Phalha connection to their acquisition.

No. 259



Object Name: Pitchfork

Place Made: Tibet: Gyantse

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This group of farming tools, from Gyantse and recorded after the group sourced by Palhese also hint at a Phalha connection to their acquisition.

Pitchfork (gya-se).

No. 260



Rake (ang-se).

Object Name: Rake

Place Made: Tibet: Gyantse

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This group of farming tools, from Gyantse and recorded after the group sourced by Palhese also hint at a Phalha connection to their acquisition.

No. 261

*Harrow (ri-bu)*

Object Name: Harrow

Place Made: Tibet: Gyantse

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This group of farming tools, from Gyantse and recorded after the group sourced by Palhese also hint at a Phalha connection to their acquisition.

No. 262



Object Name: Sickle

Place Made: Tibet: Gyantse

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This group of farming tools, from Gyantse and recorded after the group sourced by Palhese also hint at a Phalha connection to their acquisition.

Sickle (so-ra).

No. 263



Object Name: Jade dishes

Place Made: Lhasa

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Made: Before July 1913

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: This group of objects was given to Bell during his annual inspection tour of southern Tibet. He was staying in Gyantse and the Khambu valley during this period and records having 'three lengthy conversations with the Prime Minister on the political position in Tibet ' on or around the date these pieces were given.

One square and 4 triangular dishes of white jade. Used by Tibetans for fruit at table. Presented to me by the Tibetan Government. They come from the Potala. Per Shatra Lönchen on 28th July 1913

No. 264



Object Name: Cham dance costume

Given by: Lönchen Shatra

Described by: Lönchen Shatra

Place Made: Lhasa

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Made: Before July 1913

Date Collected: Before July 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.57 (Hat), National Museums
Liverpool, 50.31.94 (Robe), 50.31.95 (Collar) and 50.31.88
(apron)

Reference: This group of objects was given to Bell during his annual inspection tour of southern Tibet. He was staying in Gyantse and the Khambu valley during this period and records having 'three lengthy conversations with the Prime Minister on the political position in Tibet ' on or around the date these pieces were given.

Tibet catalogue, Pg 69 No 4

A suit and hat as worn by "Black Hat" (Ngak-pa) Lamas. These lamas have among other powers that of preventing hail and sometimes of bringing rain. This dress and hat came from the Potala and were presented to me by the Tibetan Government (Per Shatra Lönchen on 28th July 1913.

No. 265

Object Name: *Thangka* of Padmasambhava

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Lhasa

Date Made: 1850s

Date Collected: Before August 1913

Location: Private Collection

Reference: The three (only two are listed) Padmasambhava *thangkas* continue to cause some confusion, Bell had one of the three *thangkas* photographed in Vancouver, see figure postscript.1 and described it as given by the Dalai Lama, but there is no mention of such a gift in *The List of Curios*, although significant numbers of objects did not make it into the list.

Likely to have been sourced by Palhese as Bell notes that he discusses politics with Palhese on 5th August 1913 in his diary. David Macdonald in his book, *Twenty Years in Tibet* wrote of the Tengyeling treasures, 'I saw of the treasures formerly owned by Tengyeling, and they are priceless. Many pieces have been stolen by traders, and have found their way to India, but there are still several hundred old Chinese carpets stored there. No Tibetan monastery, as a rule, will sell its property, which finds its way on to the market only when stolen by the lamas'.

Tibetan scroll representing Padma Sambhava. Probably 50 or 60 years old. The silk round the picture is of exceptionally good quality. The paint is of the old superior, not of the modern inferior kind. The picture comes from Teng-gye-ling Monastery. It looks new, because it has been hung up once or twice only each year, e.g at the New Year etc. (Per K. Palhese on 4th August 1913.

No. 266



Same as 265. Another representation of Padma Sambhava. (Per K. Palhese on 4th August 1913.)

Object Name: *Thangka* of Padmasambhava as Nyima Ozer

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Lhasa

Date Made: 1850s

Date Collected: Before August 1913

Location: Unknown

Reference: Likely to have been sourced by Palhese as Bell notes that he discusses politics with Palhese on 5th August 1913 in his diary. David Macdonald in his book, 'Twenty Years in Tibet' wrote of the Tengyeling treasures, 'I saw of the treasures formerly owned by Tengyeling, and they are priceless. Many pieces have been stolen by traders, and have found their way to India, but there are still several hundred old Chinese carpets stored there. No Tibetan monastery, as a rule, will sell its property, which finds its way on to the market only when stolen by the lamas'. The three (only two listed) Padmasambhava *thangkas* continue to cause some confusion, Bell had one of the three *thangkas* photographed in Vancouver, see figure postscript.1 and described it as given by the Dalai Lama, but there is no mention of such a gift in The *List of Curios*, although significant numbers of objects did not make it into the list.

No. 267



Object Name: Large baluster vase

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: China

Date Made: 1850s

Date Collected: Before August 1913

Location: Natinal Museums Liverpool, 50.31.66

Reference: Likely to have been sourced by Palhese as Bell notes that he discusses politics with Palhese on 5th August 1913 in his diary. David Macdonald in his book, 'Twenty Years in Tibet' wrote of the Tengyeling treasures, 'I saw of the treasures formerly owned by Tengyeling, and they are priceless. Wonderful examples of Chinese porcelain, gold-work, carved jade and turquoise, and many very finely painted and embroidered religious banners were stored in go-downs sealed by the Devashung. Many pieces have been stolen by traders, and have found their way to India, but there are still several hundred old Chinese carpets stored there. No Tibetan monastery, as a rule, will sell its property, which finds its way on to the market only when stolen by the lamas'.

Tibet catalogue, 69 No 6

Per K. Palhese on 4th August 1913. One tall yellow china vase. 200 to 300 years old. From Teng-gye-ling Monastery.

No. 268



Object Name: Table shrine containing Hayagriva

Given by: Haji Ghulam Mohammed

Described by: Lönchen Shatra

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: India: Simla

Date Made: 1850s

Date Collected: Before August 1913

Location: Unknown

Given me by Khan Sahib Haji Ghulam Muhammad of Lhasa in November 1913. A brass shrine delicately carved containing an image (so Lönchen Shatra tells me) of Tam-drin Sam-trup, with 3 heads. The red marks on the head, the Lönchen says, represent flames.

No. 269



Object Name: Ngagpa ritual horn

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: Before August 1913

Date Collected: Before August 1913

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.3.

Reference: *Tibet Random Notes II*, 1

Ngak-pa's (wizard's) horn for preventing hail storms. For fuller description see T.R.N. II 1).

No. 270



Object Name: Pair of vases with encircling dragons

Purchased from: Palhese

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa: Lhalu House

Date Made: 18th-19th century

Date Collected: Before August 1913

Location: Private Collection

Reference: These bronze vases reflect a popular Qing dynasty design that later gained popularity in Europe. Fine porcelain examples can be seen on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

A pair of vases made of Chinese bell-metal (Gya-li) 9" high 12 1/2" round widest bulge, on pedestal with six feet each. Plain except for a lizard climbing round the neck of each vase. These vases are used for flowers and are said to be very old. Obtained by K. Palhese from the Lhalu house at Lhasa. Price 35/-.

No. 271



Object Name: Clay stamp

Obtained from: Palhese

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Gyantse: Chumik Tangsang nunnery

Place Collected: Gyantse: Chumik Tangsang nunnery

Date Made: Before September 1915

Date Collected: 15th September 1915

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.47

Reference: Obtained during Bell's annual inspection tour of the Gyantse area, accompanied by Palhese and Cashie.

A copper stamp, encased in iron and mounted on wood, for stamping clay images. It has a stamp of Tse-pa-me on the top and of Nava-gyel-wa "Lord of the Heavens" and White Dröl-ma below with a chorten between the last two. These three images are considered to give long life. Obtained from the Chu-mik Tang-sang nunnery at Gyantse in September 1915.

No. 272



Object Name: Clay stamp

Obtained from: Palhese

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Gyantse: Chumik Tangsang nunnery

Place Collected: Gyantse: Chumik Tangsang nunnery

Date Made: Before September 1915

Date Collected: 15th September 1915

Location: Unknown

Reference: Obtained during Bell's annual inspection tour of the Gyantse area, accompanied by Palhese and Cashie.

A stamp of similar make to 271, but smaller. It has a stamp of Padma Sambhava and his two wives. Obtained along with No. 271

No. 273



Object Name: Soup Jar

Given by: Tsarong

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Derge

Place Collected: Tibet: Gyantse

Date Made: 13th century

Date Collected: 28th - 30th September 1915

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.12

Reference: *The People of Tibet*, 222

Given by Tsarong during his and Bell's guns and communications negotiations in September 1915, during Bell's annual inspection tour.

An iron damascene soup jar. Silver beaten into the iron and partly gilt. Palhese estimates its age at 500 to 600 years. Probably made in or near Derge. Presented to me by Tsarong Shape on behalf of the Tibetan Government in September 1915. Height 9"; circumference round base 21 1/4".

No. 274



Object Name: Pen case

Given by: Tsarong

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Derge

Place Collected: Tibet: Gyantse

Date Made: 15th century

Date Collected: 28th - 30th September 1915

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.34

Reference: Given by Tsarong during his and Bell's guns and communications negotiations in September 1915, during Bell's annual inspection tour.

An iron damascene soup jar. Silver beaten into the iron and partly gilt. Palhese estimates its age at 500 to 600 years. Probably made in or near Derge. Presented to me by Tsarong Shape on behalf of the Tibetan Government in September 1915. Height 9"; circumference round base 21 1/4".

No. 275



Object Name: Incense burner

Place Made: China

Date Made: 19th century

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.73

Reference: Bell gives no details on provenance for this piece. In style, it is very similar to the pair of vases that Bell obtained from Lhalu house in Lhasa. These kinds of brass and bell metal items were popular with the Tibetan aristocracy.

Brass incense pot of Chinese manufacture with three straight legs and two handles. Height of legs 5", height to top of handle 10 1/4".

No. 276



Object Name: Craved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Acquired by: Palhese
Described by: Barniok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Ü-Tsang
Place Collected: Drongtse: Drongtse Monastery

Date Made: 14th century
Date Collected: 14th September 1915

Location: Private Collection

Reference: Obtained by Bell during his annual inspection tour of the Gyantse area. He visited the monastery with Palhese and Cashie, but he fails to record how he obtained the book cover.

Per Barniok Lama on 7th December 1915. Tibetan bookcover. Length 31 inches, width 13 1/2 inches. Obtained from the Dong-tse Monastery. The central large figure is Chö-ku Yum Chem-mo, i.e. "The Great Chö-ku Mother". On the right (looking at the book cover) is Long-ku Nam-par Nang-dze (ལངས་ལྷ་ནམ་པར་ནང་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ལྷ་མོ་), and on the left is Gautama Buddha. C.f No. 104. Chö-ku Yum Chem-mo is surrounded by the eight (མཁན་པོ་) Men-la or "Priests of Medicine", with the Men-le Tso-wo or "Lord of the Priests of Medicine" on the left (looking at the book cover) of these. The book cover seems to be several hundred years old.

No. 277



Object Name: Carved wooden book cover or *glegs shing*

Acquired by: Palhese

Described by: Barniok Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Ü-Tsang

Place Collected: Drongtse: Tsenchokling Monastery

Date Made: 14th century

Date Collected: 14th -15th September 1915

Location: Unknown

Reference: Obtained by Bell during his annual inspection tour of the Gyantse area. He visited the monastery with Palhese and Cashie, but he fails to record how he obtained the book cover.

Per Barniak Lama on 7th December 1915. Tibetan bookcover. 34" long by 13 3/4" broad. Obtained from the Tsen-chok-ling Monastery, near Dong-tse. "The central figure is the Lord of the Priests of Medicine, with the two (མཐོང་པ་གཉིས་) Sem-pa)lit. "the two of courageous mind") one on each side of him. Round him are the six supporters of the throne" (see 21), but slight variations are made sometimes in these figures, if the lama who orders the bookcover so desires. To the right (looking at the cover) the large figure is "green Dröl-ma" with the supporters of her chair; to the left the large figure is Gye-wa Cha-pa, the coming Buddha. These two have fewer attendants round their chair than the Lord of the Medicine Priests, because the latter ranks as one of the past Buddhas. Drölma, though a goddess, ranks only as an attendant on the present Buddha, Gautama; while Gye-wa Cham-pa, not being yet a Buddha, also ranks lower than the medicine lord. Gye-wa Champa's hands are held with the forefinger and thumb of each joined to represent the hub of a wheel and the three other figures extended to represent spokes. This position of the hands symbolises his turning the wheel of religion and indicates that when the religion of Gautama sinks, Gye-wa Cham-pa will succeed him. This bookcover also seems to be several hundred years old.

No. 278

Object Name: Beer or *chang* jug

Given by: Doring Techī

Described by: Charles Bell

Place Made: Tibet: Ü-Tsang

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Made: 20th century

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.13

Reference: Probably given in 1917, during annual trip to Gyantse.

Copper jug with handle and spout, 28" round base, 25" round top band, greatest height 13 3/4". Given to me by Doring Techī Kusho. Used for beer etc.

No. 279

Object Name: Staffs of office or *pe re*

Obtained by: Pha lha Kenchen

Purchased from: Pha lha Kusho

Described by: Pha lha Kusho

Place Made: Lhasa

Place Collected: Lhasa: Drepung Monastery

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: June 1917

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.16

Reference: *Tibet* catalogue, Pg 42, No 19

A pair of pe-re staffs of office used by the Shal-ngos in Lhasa at the Mönlam festival. One is 5' 6" long and 12 1/2" round. The other is 5' 9" and 12" round. Made of iron, embossed with brass-gilt in the middle and at the ends. Each has a handle with a ring. The iron is decorated with Jam-sang (damascene) work. The brass gilt figures in the middle are of the Tashi Ta-gye and other figures and signs. These iron staffs are carried by the Shalngos when going to and from between the assemblies and their monasteries. When they arrive at the place of meeting, they plant the pe-re in the ground. These two pe-re were obtained by Palha Kusbo through the Palha Kenchen from the Dre-pung monastery. Only Sera and Drepung have pe-re like this. A few spare ones are kept in each of these two monasteries, perhaps 8 or 10 in each. Paid Palha Kusbo Rs 160/- for each of the two pe-re. June 1917.

No. 280



Object Name: Silk waistband

Given by: Palhese

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Lhasa

Place Collected: Lhasa: Bangyeshar House

Date Made: Before November 1917

Date Collected: 26th November 1917

Location: Unknown

Reference: *The People of Tibet*, 68. 'Waist-bands of silk are often worn. One in my possession is of green silk with a clasp of white jade. It must be worn only with clothes of Chinese, not Tibetan, make, for it is out of tune with the latter.'

26th November 1919. Green silk waistband with white jade clasp. The clasp when joined, measures 4 1/2" by 2". Worn by Tibetan gentlemen with clothes of Chinese pattern. It cannot be worn with my yellow Tibetan fancy dress this being a Tibetan, not a Chinese style of dress. The jade clasp was taken by Palhese from his home in Lhasa. Given me by Palhese on 26th November.

No. 281

Object Name: Prayer beads or *trenq wa*

Purchased from: Palhese

Obtained from: Kusho Doring

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa: Doring House

Date Made: Before November 1919

Date Collected: Around 28th November 1917

Location: Unknown

Reference: *The People of Tibet*, 155, 'One in my possession is of white stone beads, believed by Tibetans to be pieces of ice fossilized. They should be worn in warm weather, when they will always be cool to the touch, cooler than glass beads. This rosary, which came from the house of one of the old nobility in Lhasa, should be worn wound three or four times round the wrist.

28th November 1919. Sold to me by Ku. Palhese for Rs 30/- A rosary of white stone beads from China. The stones are called Hrü-chin, a Chinese word said to mean "Water stones"; they are believed to be pieces of ice fossilized. They should be worn in warm weather, when they will always be cool to the touch, cooler than glass beads. Ku. Palhese obtained this rosary from Ku Doring (the father). It has been a long time in the Doring mansion at Lhasa. Ku Palhese has sold it to me for wearing with my Tibetan Minister's dress, the yellow one. The rosary is to be worn, wound three or four times round the left wrist. It should not be worn with my Bhutanese dress.

No. 282



Object Name: Cloisonné saucer
 Given by: Lönchen Shokang
 Described by: Palhese
 Place Made: China
 Place Collected: Darjeeling
 Date Made: Before December 1919
 Date Collected: Around 18th December 1919
 Location: Unknown

18th December 1919. Blue, white and gold cloisonne saucer, elongated, 5 1/8" long x 4 1/4" broad. Sent me in a letter by Lönchen Shokang. The saucer appears fairly new but Palhese says it is old. He says the gold Chinese lettering is old; if of the kind done nowadays, it would appear redder. He applies a knife to it, shows it does not scrape off and says that, if modern work, the gold would scrape off. Also that the blue shines like the sky, it would not shine so well in modern work. Palhese thinks its market value in Tibet to be about Rs 30/-.

No. 283

Object Name: *Thangka* of Shakyamuni Buddha

Given by: Tashi Namgyal

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 18th centuryDate Collected: Around 25th December 1923

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.113

Reference: British Museum description provided as Bell's own entry offers no descriptive information. In the centre a seated Buddha surrounded by a double halo and flanked by Sariputra and Maudgalyana. Below the arhats Angaja and Bakula. Above, to the left, Gugyasamaja and, to the right, Cakrasamvara. In the clouds over the main seated Buddha a cluster of five figures, namely; Milarepa, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, Barilo Tsewa, Kenge Nyingpo and, at the top, Vajradhara. In rainbow-edge circles on the right and left, the celestial worlds of Vairocana and Amitabha. Inscribed.

25th December 1923. A present from the Maharaja of Sikkim.

No. 284

Object Name: Folding table or *choktse*

Given by: Palhese

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Lhasa

Date Made: 18th – 19th centuryDate Collected: Around 7th March 1927

Location: National Museum Liverpool, 50.31.4

Reference: Given to Bell at the beginning of Palhese's stay in the UK

Tibet catalogue, Pg 80, No 13

7th March 1927. Given me by Palhese. Tibetan table. 26' by 11". Palhese says it is 150 to 200 years old, and was kept in Shar-yül, a small estate of the Pa-lha family at Lhasa, which was made over to Palhese's mother. The table was used often when going to the ling-ka, especially on ordinary occasions, as when going to bathe in the river in summer. After coming out of the water and dressing, the bather would recline by this table and take tea and fruit for half an hour to an hour. Then he would get up and go to the tent in the ling-ka, perhaps a quarter to half a mile away, and remain there for the rest of the day. The bath in the river would be taken about midday. The table is of walnut wood from Kong-po, but made in Lhasa. Two dragons face each other with a heap of gems (nor-bu) between. Below the gems is an animal - or part of it - called dži-par. Colour red, gold etc. Described by Palhese.

No. 285



Object Name: Amulet box or *ga'u* with a statuette of Tse pa me or Amitayus

Given by: Palhese

Obtained from: Tri Rinpoche

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 18th – 19th century

Date Collected: Around 7th March 1927

Location: British Museum, 1946,1217.2

Reference: Given to Bell at the beginning of Palhese's stay in the UK

7th March 1927. Given me by Palhese. Gold, or gilt, image of Tse-pa-me, just under one inch in height. The Gan-den Ti Rim-po-che, who is 83 years old, gave this to Palhese, when he started on his journey to me, as a help for Palhese to obtain longlife, for the Ti-Rim-po-che is Palhese's "Root Lama" (Tsa-sai la-ma). Palhese insists on giving it to me, as he has two or three other images of Tse-pa-me given to him by Lamas. The image is seated on a lotus and is in a silver case, and is surrounded and backed by embroidered cloth (kin-kop?) from Nepal. Described by Palhese

No. 286



Object Name: Iron teapot

Purchased from: Palhese

Obtained from: Yabshi Punkang

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Chamdo

Date Made: 15th – 16th centuryDate Collected: Around 7th March 1927

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.19

Reference: Given to Bell at the beginning of Palhese's stay in the UK

Tibet catalogue, 100, No 12

Bought from Palhese for Rs 100/-. Tea-pot (ko-ti) of iron with gold and silver damascene. It belongs to Yap-shi Pün-kang, who has had it in his family for several generations. The tea pot is an old one. Height 13 inches, round base 17 1/2 ins., round neck 16 1/2 inches. Such tea-pots are very rare nowadays.

No. 287



Object Name: Food preparation vessel or *gyakhok*

Purchased from: Palhese

Described by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Eastern Tibet

Date Made: 18th – 19th century

Date Collected: Around 7th March 1927

Location: Private Collection

Reference: Given to Bell at the beginning of Palhese's stay in the UK

The width or diameter measurement given by Bell, seems to be disproportionately large and is likely incorrect, but this is definitely a *gyakhok* and the only one seen.

Bought from Palhese for Rs 50/-. Iron vessel (rgya-khok) for keeping warm meat and vegetables mixed together. People at meals help themselves directly from it with their chopsticks. The heating is done with charcoal placed in the central column. Height 4 1/4 inches, 9 feet wide round widest part. Damascened with gold and silver. Fitted with three iron handles. A damascened rgya-khok of this kind is very rare nowadays.

No. 288



Object Name: Statue of Jetsun Dolma or Ushnishavijaya

Given by: Geshe Wangyal

Described by: Geshe Wangyal

Place Made: Tibet

Date Made: 11th – 12th century

Date Collected: 29th July 1937

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.60

Reference: The giver of this figure was Ngawang (or Geshe) Wangyal who accompanied Bell as translator on his trip to Manchuria, Mongolia and China. Geshe Wangyal established the Tibetan Buddhism teaching programme at Columbia University, USA. He travelled to the UK in 1937 to stay with the explorer Marco Pallis, visiting Bell during this trip.

Seems to have no number, given No. 288 in List of Curios in Canada. ABW 2/5/45. Per Do-nam-pa Wangyal. Image of Je-tsun Drölma given me by Do-nam-pa Wangyal on 29th July 1937 at Edgumbe. Height from top of head ornament (u-gyen) is 5 3/4 inches. Length of base 4 inches; breadth at broadest place, 2 3/4 inches. He tells me as follows: This image is many hundreds of years old. It was made in India, not in Tibet, and was brought to Tibet in the old days when many Indian Buddhist priests came there. It was given to me by a friend of mine in the Dre-pung monastery. His ge-gen (spiritual teacher) having died, he has inherited the ge-gen's property and he has given this image to me. When a ge-gen dies, he is succeeded by his oldest disciple (ge-truk), who becomes ge-gen, and inherits the bulk of the former ge-gen's property. This image has been passed down from one ge-gen at Dre-pung to the next through numerous generations. It is not simple copper, but has gold, silver, etc, mixed in it (see List of Curios page 35) in the dze-kyi-ma process.

No. 289



Object Name: Shakyamuni Buddha

Given by: Possibly Geshe Wangyal

Place Made: Tibet

Date Collected: Possibly 29th July 1937

Location: Unknown

Reference: There are several entries towards the end of this section that have been added by ABW (I presume this is Bell's son, Arthur) following Bell's death.

Buddha. 4 3/4" high including base. Gilt very much rubbed, blue hair on head-dress, gilt wash on face. Does not seem to be entered in L.O.C. And was possibly a gift from Dr Wangyal given with image of Jetsün Dröl-ma on 29 July 1927. Shown on List of Curios in Canada as No.289. ABW 2/5/45

No. 290



Reference:

There are several entries towards the end of this section that have been added by ABW (I presume this is Bell's son, Arthur) following Bell's death.

This is not a new entry, but is in fact No.285, the figure of Tse-pa-me and the ga'u gifted by Palhese.

Small silver box domed at the top with front of glass. A small gilt or gold figure within, behind scarlet and gold curtains. Referred to by Sir Charles as 'the Little Buddha'. Measures only 1 in in height, exclusive of ring at top - the whole measuring not more than 1 1/4 in. The following, part of description of item No 122 of List of Curios, might apply. ABW 18/5/45

No. 291



Object Name: Photographic portrait of the ninth Panchen Lama

Given by: Panchen Lama

Place Made: Tibet: Tashi Lhunpo Monastery

Date Made: Around 1906

Date Collected: 6th November 1906

Location: Unknown

Reference: Used as Frontispiece in *Religion of Tibet*

Portrait of the Tashi Lama. The Pan-chen Rim-po-che. This portrait, painted by a leading Tibetan artist. Was presented to Sir Charles Bell by the Pan-chen Rim-po-che, who himself wrote the gold letters thereunder (His Holiness's name and titles) and affixed his seal. (From frontispiece of The Religion of Tibet). [same handwriting as above two entries]

List of Chinese Curios and a few Japanese

No. A1



Object Name: Funerary rites scroll or *kakejiku*

Place Made: Kyoto

Place Collected: Kyoto

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: 5th November 1907

Location: British Museum 1933,0508.117

Reference: In 'Diary Volume III' Bell notes, '5th November bought two kakemonos + some photographs'.

Old Kakemono Japanese. 13 Buddhas to be worshipped after 1st week after death Fudo, 2nd " " " Shaka, 3rd " " " Monju, 4th " " " Fugen, 5th " " " Jizo, 6th " " " Yakini, 7th " " " Ya-ku-si, 100 days " " Kwannon, One year " " Se-shi, three " " " Amida, seven " " " Akin, thirteen " " " Dai-ni-chi, thirty-three " " Ko-ku-zo, Sacred umbrella (ten-gai at top. I paid 45 yen (£4.10/-) for it. Bought at Kyoto

No. A2

Object Name: Praise portrait scroll or *kakejiku* for Amida

Artist: Sait Seijo

Place Made: Kyoto

Place Collected: Kyoto

Date Made: 18th centuryDate Collected: 5th November 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: In 'Diary Volume III' Bell notes, '5th November bought two kakemonos + some photographs'.

Old Japanese Kakemono Amido on Dorjes (toko Jap.) On the back is writing apparently genuine, describing the picture as one of Amida, singing the latter's praises and saying that the picture is painted by Sait Sei-jo in the 16th year of the Gen-roku ra (i.e about 1701). It is painted on silk in water colour. I paid 29 yen (£2/16/-) for it. Bought at Kyoto

No. A3



Object Name: Cloisonné vessel

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Nagoya

Date Made: 17th centuryDate Collected: 30th October 1907

Location: Private Collection

Reference: In 'Diary Volume III' Bell notes, '30th October. Visited a cloisonne factory + saw the different processes required to produce the finished article. Bought one piece of modern Japanese cloisonne + from a different shop a piece of old Chinese cloisonne, said to have been brought from a Samurai in the service of the Damio of Owari + to be more than 300 years old. By appearance it is old; it has one flaw, but for wh. the shopman says he wd. not let it go except for 100 yen I paid 40 yen for it.'

Vessel has been photographed on its lip and not its base.

A piece of old Chinese cloisnone price 40 yen (£4) bought at Nagoya on the advice of Marsham who is something of an expert. Chinese guide says it is like a tumbler for washing teeth.

No. A4



Object Name: Cloisonné vessel

Place Made: Japan

Place Collected: Nagoya

Date Made: 17th centuryDate Collected: 30th October 1907

Location: Private Collection

Reference: In 'Diary Volume III' Bell notes, '30th October. Visited a cloisonne factory + saw the different processes required to produce the finished article. Bought one piece of modern Japanese cloisonne + from a different shop a piece of old Chinese cloisonne, said to have been brought from a Samurai in the service of the Damio of Owari + to be more than 300 years old. By appearance it is old; it has one flaw, but for wh. the shopman says he wd. not let it go except for 100 yen I paid 40 yen for it.'

A piece of modern Japanese cloisonne bought at Nagoya. Price 15 yen (1/10/-).

No. A5



Object Name: Cloisonné incense burner

Place Made: Japan

Place Collected: Kyoto

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: Around 5th November 1907

Location: Private Collection

An incense burner (koro) price 7 1/2 yen (15 shillings). Bought at Kyoto.

No. A6



Object Name: *Thangka* of an 'enemy god' *dGra-lha dPa-brtan dmag-dpon*

Place Made: Mongolia

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: November 1907

Location: British Museum, 1933.0609.0.114

Reference: Diary Vol III - I lunched w Robertson + Fawett, Secretaries of the British Legation, + after lunch bought 3 scrolls from a selection that a Chinaman at Robertson's request had brought from the "Yellow Temple"

Bought in Peking November 1907, Bought from Yellow Temple in Peking. 9 representations (a large one in the middle and 4 small ones on each side) of the god who stands by and protects the god of war. Painted by Manchurian-Mongolian. Marked 6 on back. Price \$10 - £1.

No. A7



Object Name: *Thangka* of Buddhist beings

Place Made: Mongolia

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: November 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Vol III - I lunched w Robertson + Fawett, Secretaries of the British Legation, + after lunch bought 3 scrolls from a selection that a Chinaman at Robertson's request had brought from the "Yellow Temple"

Bought in Peking November 1907 for \$10 - £1. Brought from Yellow temple, Peking. A buddha surrounded by other figures. Painted by Manchurian Mongolian, marked 7 on back.

No. A8



Object Name: *Thangka* of Buddhist being

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: November 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Vol III - I lunched w Robertson + Fawett, Secretaries of the British Legation, + after lunch bought 3 scrolls from a selection that a Chinaman at Robertson's request had brought from the "Yellow Temple"

Bought in Peking November 1907 for \$10 - £1. Marked 8 on back. A Buddha surrounded by other figures. Painted by a Chinese.

No. A9



Object Name: Incense bowl

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: 1368-1644

Date Collected: November 1907

Location: Unknown

Bronze incense bowl, plain without ornamentation, of Ming period. Bronze said to be formed of five metals, viz: gold, silver, copper, brass and one other. Gives out deep sound when flicked with finger nail or rapped with metal. Price \$40 - £4 Between 300 and 500 years old. 4 feet. Bought at Pekin

No. A10



Object Name: Incense bowl

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: 1736-1795

Date Collected: November 1907

Location: Unknown

Bronze incense bowl ornamented with 100 different figures viz: Chinese musical instruments, fishes etc. Of Chienlung period (about 150 years old). Price \$5 - £1/10/- Stands on three feet. Bought at Peking.

No. A11



Object Name: Incense bowl

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: 1736-1795

Date Collected: November 1907

Location: Unknown

Bronze incense bowl of Chienlung period (150 years old). No feet. Ornamented in beads etc. Price \$13 - £1/6/- Bought at Peking.

No. A12



Object Name: Opium pipe

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: November 1907

Location: Unknown

Opium Pipe made of bamboo, years old, well-coloured. Also accessories, 2 cloisonne jars for holding the opium, cleaners, lamps, carved wooden tray. Total price \$20 - £2. Bought at Peking.

No. A13



Object Name: Pipe

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: 30th November- 4th December 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: 'Diary Volume IV' - Peking Nov 30th to 4th Dec. Saw cloisonne made, bought cloisonne goods + an opium pipe w. Its accessories. Took photos of street scenes. Visited Kiang Tin-yen, a Vice President of the Board of Foreign Affairs. Mr Cormick, an American, the Peking representative of the Associated Press of America, showed me photos of the Forbidden City wh[ic]h he took.

New Chinese pipe with cloisonne work. Bought at Peking for \$11 - £1/2/-

No. A14



Object Name: Cloisonné ink pot

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: 30th November – 4th December 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: 'Diary Volume IV' - Peking Nov 30th to 4th Dec. Saw cloisonne made, bought cloisonne goods + an opium pipe w. Its accessories. Took photos of street scenes. Visited Kiang Tin-yen, a Vice President of the Board of Foreign Affairs. Mr Cormick, an American, the Peking representative of the Associated Press of America, showed me photos of the Forbidden City wh[ic]h he took.

New Chinese Cloisonne inkpot. Bought at Peking for \$3.50 7/-.

No. A15



Object Name: Samples of cloisonné process

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: 30th November – 4th December 1907

Location: British Museum, 1933,0508.90a-p

Reference: 'Diary Volume IV' - Peking Nov 30th to 4th Dec. Saw cloisonne made, bought cloisonne goods + an opium pipe w. Its accessories. Took photos of street scenes. Visited Kiang Tin-yen, a Vice President of the Board of Foreign Affairs. Mr Cormick, an American, the Peking representative of the Associated Press of America, showed me photos of the Forbidden City wh[ic]h he took.

Box containing 6 vases showing 6 stages of cloisonne work. Bought at Peking for \$13 - £1/6/-

No. A16



Object Name: Snuff bottles

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Beijing

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: 30th November – 4th December 1907

Location: National Museum Liverpool, 50.31.86 - (a only)

Reference: Diary Volume IV tells us that he visited Peking (now Beijing) between 28th November and 4th December 1907. On the 29th he visited Curio Street, a series of streets dedicated to shopping for Western tourists. It is likely that Bell bought this snuff bottle at that time.

Three glass snuff boxes painted on the inside \$1 each 2/- bought in Peking. (a) Husband and wife fishing; reverse, men playing musical instruments. (b) Man kneeling on bank of river in strong wind, hat blown off, reverse flowers. (c) Man and woman flirting, woman on bridge, man at entrance to bridge; reverse a stork.

No. A17



Object Name: Ivory ornament

Place Made: Shanghai

Place Collected: Shanghai

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: December 1907

Location: Unknown

Ivory Ornament Shanghai work. Bought in native town Shanghai for \$10 - £1

No. A18



Object Name: Silk embroidered banner (detail shown)

Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor

Place Made: Guangzhou

Place Collected: Guangzhou

Date Made: 18th century

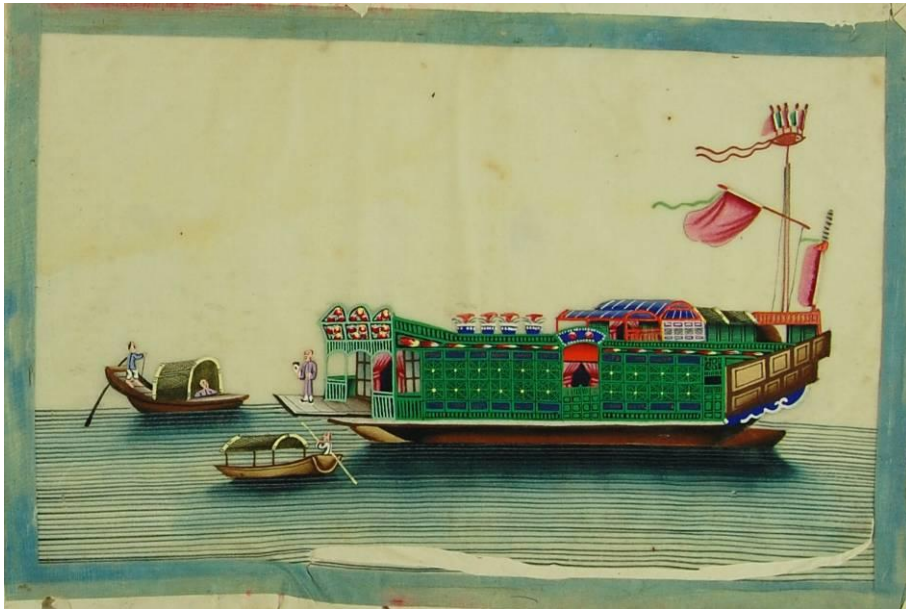
Date Collected: December 1907

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.93

Reference: Diary Volume IV - Canton 28th - 30th Dec. At Canton, weather wet throughout. Went round the City on the afternoon of the 29th + the morning of the 30th. Streets very narrow, houses high + broad, many smells. Most attractive through w. Its teeming busy life + the clever + beautiful productions in the shops...Saw "kingfisher" work, the coloured feather being inserted into brooches + other metal work. The work is so fine that the workers often go blind. Saw the so-called "rice paper pictures". They are really painted (water colour) on pith. Bought a set showing the different kinds of boats in use in China.

Cantonese embroidery, said to be 200 years old, black and gold. \$28, bought in Canton. Per Maharaja Kumar's Chinese tutor: On the top are two dragons which, as the centre lettering says, are flying. To the side of these in the corners, a mythological bird, supposed to be the kings of the birds. Below, in the centre a very old supernatural man and woman, supposed to be 200 or 300 years old. To the left and right near the corner a minister of the Emperor of China in the old style of dress. Five boys struggling for a cap, representing the struggle for position; next these an old man, one of the Chinese signs of the zodiac. To the left is a learned scholar, attended by two boys and other servants. This is auspicious as showing that the young members of the household in which this embroidery is put, will become learned. The stork and the deer are used by the old couple in the centre as riding animals. They are emblematic of old age. The deer's horns grow with age and when old, drop off and are renewed. In the corners are vases of Fu-kui flowers, which are supposed to bring wealth. The embroidery appears to be old. The ground work is black silk and the stitching is done with gold thread.

No. A19



Book of pictures painted (water colour) on paper made from pith \$4.30, bought in Canton.

Object Name: Album of boat types

Place Made: Guangzhou

Place Collected: Guangzhou

Date Made: 1907

Date Collected: 28th – 30th December 1907

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.123

Reference: Diary Volume IV - Canton 28th - 30th Dec. At Canton, weather wet throughout. Went round the City on the afternoon of the 29th + the morning of the 30th. Streets very narrow, houses high + broad, many smells. Most attractive through w. Its teeming busy life + the clever + beautiful productions in the shops...Saw "kingfisher" work, the coloured feather being inserted into brooches + other metal work. The work is so fine that the workers often go blind. Saw the so-called "rice paper pictures". They are really painted (water colour) on pith. Bought a set showing the different kinds of boats in use in China.

No. A20



Object Name: Table cloth

Place Made: Guangzhou

Place Collected: Guangzhou

Date Made: 1907

Date Collected: 28th – 30th December 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume IV - Canton 28th - 30th Dec. At Canton, weather wet throughout. Went round the City on the afternoon of the 29th + the morning of the 30th. Streets very narrow, houses high + broad, many smells. Most attractive through w. Its teeming busy life + the clever + beautiful productions in the shops...Saw "kingfisher" work, the coloured feather being inserted into brooches + other metal work. The work is so fine that the workers often go blind. Saw the so-called "rice paper pictures". They are really painted (water colour) on pith. Bought a set showing the different kinds of boats in use in China.

Grass cloth table cloth said to be made from hemp. Ditto 12 doylies \$4. each (8" all); bought in Canton.

No. A21



Object Name: Ivory puzzle balls

Place Made: Guangzhou

Place Collected: Guangzhou

Date Made: 1907

Date Collected: 28th – 30th December 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume IV - Canton 28th - 30th Dec. At Canton, weather wet throughout. Went round the City on the afternoon of the 29th + the morning of the 30th. Streets very narrow, houses high + broad, many smells. Most attractive through w. Its teeming busy life + the clever + beautiful productions in the shops...Saw "kingfisher" work, the coloured feather being inserted into brooches + other metal work. The work is so fine that the workers often go blind. Saw the so-called "rice paper pictures". They are really painted (water colour) on pith. Bought a set showing the different kinds of boats in use in China.

Ivory balls and stand 9 balls \$12, bought in Canton.

No. A22



Object Name: Lacquer cigarette box

Place Made: Guangzhou

Place Collected: Guangzhou

Date Made: 1907

Date Collected: 28th – 30th December 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume IV - Canton 28th - 30th Dec. At Canton, weather wet throughout. Went round the City on the afternoon of the 29th + the morning of the 30th. Streets very narrow, houses high + broad, many smells. Most attractive through w. Its teeming busy life + the clever + beautiful productions in the shops...Saw "kingfisher" work, the coloured feather being inserted into brooches + other metal work. The work is so fine that the workers often go blind. Saw the so-called "rice paper pictures". They are really painted (water colour) on pith. Bought a set showing the different kinds of boats in use in China.

Cigarette box of Canton lacquer \$41/2, bought in Canton.

No. A23



Object Name: Tray and box

Place Made: Zhenjiang

Place Collected: Zhenjiang

Date Made: 1907

Date Collected: 1907

Location: Unknown

Tray and box of Chinkiang work, made as follows; first a layer of wood, then Kiangsi clay. This is covered with some wood oil and polished, then polished with shells in places. The red ones are dyed. Bought at Chinkiang for about \$4.

No. A24



Object Name: Kingfisher ornaments

Place Made: Guangzhou

Place Collected: Guangzhou

Date Made: 1907

Date Collected: 28th – 30th December 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume IV - Canton 28th - 30th Dec. At Canton, weather wet throughout. Went round the City on the afternoon of the 29th + the morning of the 30th. Streets very narrow, houses high + broad, many smells. Most attractive through w. Its teeming busy life + the clever + beautiful productions in the shops...Saw "kingfisher" work, the coloured feather being inserted into brooches + other metal work. The work is so fine that the workers often go blind. Saw the so-called "rice paper pictures". They are really painted (water colour) on pith. Bought a set showing the different kinds of boats in use in China.

Kingfisher ornaments. Bought in Canton for about \$1 2/- . A pair of fishes

No. A25



Object Name: Silver models

Place Made: Guangzhou

Place Collected: Guangzhou

Date Made: 1907

Date Collected: 28th – 30th December 1907

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume IV - Canton 28th - 30th Dec. At Canton, weather wet throughout. Went round the City on the afternoon of the 29th + the morning of the 30th. Streets very narrow, houses high + broad, many smells. Most attractive through w. Its teeming busy life + the clever + beautiful productions in the shops...Saw "kingfisher" work, the coloured feather being inserted into brooches + other metal work. The work is so fine that the workers often go blind. Saw the so-called "rice paper pictures". They are really painted (water colour) on pith. Bought a set showing the different kinds of boats in use in China.

A set of small silver ornaments, sampan, abacus etc. Bought in Canton for \$4.80 - 9/7.

No. A26



Object Name: Geisha model

Place Made: Singapore / Japan

Place Collected: Singapore

Date Made: Early 20th century

Date Collected: 6th January 1908

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume IV - Singapore 6th Jan. Shopping + passage arrangements in the morning; in the afternoon drove round by the racecourse, + through the Botanical gardens, which are fine, + where I met a Hindu policeman from Sultanpur, who showed me round the ferneries + orchid houses etc.

A pair of Ivory Japanese women with parasols. Bought in Singapore for Straits \$8 - 18/10.

No. A27



Object Name: 'Dog of Fo' incense burner
 Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor
 Place Made: Dehua
 Date Made: 1830s-1840s
 Date Collected: Before March 1913
 Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.71
 References: *Tibet* catalogue, 1953 Pg 5, No 8

White China Lion resting on a pedestal. Used as an incense burner. Made in the province of Kiang-si. It is placed on the altar table in temples and private houses. The china is of third quality and old and so considered better than 1st class china of new quality. It is 70 or 80 years old. Per Maharaja Kumar of Sikkim's Chinese tutor, a Szechuan man, on 21st March, 1913. See Busbell's Chinese Art" Vol II p. 29. Possibly Ming Fuchien China

No. A28



Object Name:	Carved jade plaque
Described by:	Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor
Given by:	Dalai Lama
Place Made:	China
Place Collected:	Darjeeling / Kalimpong
Date Made:	1644-1911
Date Collected:	1910-1912
Location:	British Museum, 1933,0508.91

Jade Slab on dark wooden stand. Per Maharaja Kumar's Chinese tutor on 21st March 1913. It is ade of first quality. I think it was probably given to the present Dalai Lama by the Emperor of China, when the Dalai Lama was in Pekin. This colour of jade is known as the "rice water colour." The most expensive jade of all is that of the colour of an emerald. This slab represents a summer house on a rock. The writing on the jade is of even greater value than the jade itself, because it shows that it belonged once to an Emperor of China. This kind of Jade comes from Yunnan. The wooden stand is newer than the jade slab but no doubt belonged to the Emperor of China as the latter could not have given the jade slab alone. The purport of the inscription is that the piece of jade belongs to the Emperor of China and that the scene its represents is a summer house. Jade is found in stone under the ground. This rice-water jade is in the upper part of the stone and the white jade (e.g cup No. 87) is in the lower part of the stone. The rice water jade is the more valuable. The white jade is known as "decayed jade" (lao-yu) Jade should be uniform in colour. The white and dark marks on 69 are flaws. No. 72 (snuff bottle of dark green jade) is the "decayed jade" of the best kind of jade i.e the lower portion of the stone. It stands in the same relationship to it that white jade does to the "rice water jade". The best kind of jade shines, somewhat ike glass. Thus the jade in No.72 is better than the jade in No. 69. The best quality of jade e.g the snuff bottle (No. 72) protects against accident. If one falls from one's horse, wearing the snuff bottle, one will not be injured.

No. A29



Object Name: Carved lacquer bowl and lid

Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor
Given by: Panchen Lama

Place Made: China
Place Collected: Darjeeling / Kalimpong

Date Made: Late 18th century
Date Collected: 6th November 1906

Location: National Museums Liverpool

Reference: *Tibet catalogue*, 83, No 5

Per Maharaja Kumar's Chinese tutor on 24th March 1913. Circular lacquer bowl, 11 3/4" in diameter, inside measurement. This is a pair of bowls for fruit, biscuits etc., the lid forming one bowl and the base the other. The scene on the lid represents a wealthy man's summer house in spring. In the summer house the host has given the friend a plant. The friend is thanking him for it and carrying it away on his shoulder. Below, the guest's family are carrying away flowers, etc. On the sides are the eight lucky signs (ta-shi-ta-gye) and in between them are eight representations of a flowering plant, showing it at eight different seasons of the year. Only the highest or the wealthiest families in China have bowls like this. This lacquer is of the best quality, of the same quality and age as No. 43. Presented to me by the Tashi Lama in 1906, said to be a present from the Emperor of China. To stop the cracks in the lacquer from becoming worse some kind of cement, says the Maharaja Kumar's Chinese tutor, should be placed, and then black varnish put over it.

No. A30



Object Name: Opium pipe

Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor
Given by: Zhong Ying

Place Made: China
Place Collected: Kalimpong / Gangtok

Date Made: 19th century
Date Collected: February 1913

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.78

Opium Pipe. Per Maharaja Kumar's Chinese Tutor on 24th March 1913. 50 or 60 years old. Jade of moderate quality at each end. 24 1/4" long. This pipe belonged to a Chinese civil official called Ho-tse-yi in Tibet, who was beheaded by order of General Chung in Tibet about July 1912.

No. A31



Object Name: Rug

Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor
Given by: Zhong Ying

Place Made: China
Place Collected: Kalimpong / Gangtok

Date Made: 17th - 18th century
Date Collected: February 1913

Location: Unknown

Per Maharaja Kumar's Chinese tutor on 24th March 1913. Rug given me by General Chung in February 1913. Dragon with dagger in its tail. This is very old, more than 300 years old and of very good workmanship. The threads are of silk and much thicker than are used nowadays. Chinese officials of very high rank only are allowed to put up an ornament of this kind with a dragon on it. This would be put up on a wall behind the chair placed for a distinguished person. Measures 7' 9" by 6' 2" General Chung's father was a general of very high rank and so would be entitled to have a rug of this kind.

No. A32



Object Name: Opium pipe
Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor
Place Made: China
Date Collected: Before March 1913
Location: Unknown

Per Maharaja Kumar of Sikkim's Chinese tutor on 24th March 1913. Chinese pipe with cloisonne base and green and blue tassels. The tobacco is kept in the large bowl at the foot. Water is kept in the base. The tobacco for smoking is put in the small bowl above.

No. A33



Object Name: Jade pen stand

Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor
Given by: Dalai Lama

Place Made: China

Date Made: Late 18th – early 19th century
Date Collected: 1913

Location: Private Collection

Reference: Likely sent to Bell either during his annual inspection tour when he was meeting Shatra prior to the Simla conference or at Gangtok or Kalimpong, via an agent.

Given me by Dalai Lama in 1913. As per description in Dalai Lama's letter. Dark green jade pen stand. Old and of good quality green jade. The Maharaja Kumar's Chinese tutor says that the writing at the bottom shows that it is over two hundred years old, and that the jade is of good quality. He says that it is a pen stand. The pen brush is kept in the larger hole and water in the smaller. The water is used for making ink; it is put on a slab and the ink-stick is rubbed in this, until the slab is dry, when more ink is made in a similar manner. The pot is embossed with Chinese birds and twigs of trees Height 5 3/4".

No. A34



Object Name: Ritual jade cups

Described by: Sidkyong Tulku's Chinese tutor
Given by: Dalai Lama

Place Made: China

Date Made: Late 18th – early 19th century
Date Collected: Around 1913

Location: Private Collection

Reference: Likely to be a gift of the Dalai Lama as he is mentioned in Bell's notes. If so it would seem logical that they were gifted at the same time as the pen stand above.

A pair of double-handed light green jade cups, embossed with Chinese writing and (according to the Dalai Lama) fishes' eyes. The Maharaja of Kumar's Chinese tutor says that they are used for offering water to the gods. He says that the jade is of good quality. Diameter of cups 3 3/4" external measurement.

No. A35



Object Name: Vase

Described by: Palhese

Purchased from: Palhese

Owned by: Kunsangtse

Place Made: China

Date Collected: Around 1913

Location: Unknown

China Vase, 14 1/2" high, 5 1/2" across top, a dark band round base and near top. Yellow background with birds, flowers, butterflies etc. In blue. Chinese inscription at bottom. Used by Shape Kiin-sang-tse, from whose house in Lhase it has come and has been for many generations, as a flower vase. There are curious streaks inside and out. Said by Ku. Palhese to be over a thousand years old. Bought through Ku. Palhese for Rs80/-

No. A36



Object Name: Jade dish

Place Made: China

Date Collected: Around 1913

Location: Unknown

White jade dish or saucer 18 inches in circumference, 5 3/4" in diameter. Used by Tibetans as a dish for fruit etc.

No. A37



Object Name: Vase

Given by: Tsarong

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: Around 29th September 1915

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume VI - Gyantse 29th Sept. Tsarong Shape + his wife + staff having lunched with us yesterday, we lunch with them today. Tsarong is only 27 years old + rather boisterous as compared with the quiet + dignified courtesy of the ordinary Tibetan gentleman. He is perhaps the forerunner of a modern type that may arise by degrees now that the Tibetan gentry are travelling abroad...

China Vase, 14" round broadest part, 8 1/4" round top, 9" round base, blue and reddish brown on white ground, which has the soft, mutton fat look. Given me by Tsarong Shape in September 1915 he says it is good and comes from the ancestral home at Tsarong.

No. A38



Object Name: Plate

Given by: Tsarong

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Made: 1736-1795

Date Collected: Around 29th September 1915

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume VI - Gyantse 29th Sept. Tsarong Shape + his wife + staff having lunched with us yesterday, we lunch with them today. Tsarong is only 27 years old + rather boisterous as compared with the quiet + dignified courtesy of the ordinary Tibetan gentleman. He is perhaps the forerunner of a modern type that may arise by degrees now that the Tibetan gentry are travelling abroad...

China Plate 30" in circumference with figures in blue, red, green etc. On the bottom is an inscription "Made in the period of Chien-lung (1736 - 1795). Given me by Tsarong Shape in September 1915. He says it is good and comes from the ancestral home at Tsarong.

No. A39



Object Name: Pair of cups

Given by: Tsarong

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Made: 1465-1487

Date Collected: Around 29th September 1915

Location: Unknown

Reference: Diary Volume VI - Gyantse 29th Sept. Tsarong Shape + his wife + staff having lunched with us yesterday, we lunch with them today. Tsarong is only 27 years old + rather boisterous as compared with the quiet + dignified courtesy of the ordinary Tibetan gentleman. He is perhaps the forerunner of a modern type that may arise by degrees now that the Tibetan gentry are travelling abroad...

A pair of china cups 4 1/10" diameter at top 1 3/4" diameter at base, each ornamented with a dragon in green, red and yellow, with inscription on base "Made in the period of Cheng Hua (1465-87) of the great Ming dynasty". Given me by Tsarong Shape in September 1915. He says they are good and come from the ancestral home at Tsarong.

No. A40



Object Name: Ceremonial knife with jade handle
 Given by: Kusho Doring
 Place Made: China
 Place Collected: Gyantse
 Date Made: 18th – 19th century
 Date Collected: Around 7th September 1915
 Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.32
 Reference: Diary Vol VI - Gyantse 7th Sept. Cashie, Mr Macdonald + I, + Ku. Palhese went to lunch with the Dorings at Gap-shi. [Long description of this dinner engagement]

Tibet catalogue, 87, No 22

Knife with jade handle in blue cloisonne sheath. Length of knife 13 1/2", length of sheath 9 1/2", length of knife and sheath combined 13 3/4". Given me by Doring Kusho in September 1915, who particularly asks me not to send it to the tosha kbana, saying that it is an old and good piece.

No. A41



Object Name:	Cup
Given by:	Kunsangtse
Place Made:	China
Date Made:	19 th century
Date Collected:	September 1916
Location:	Unknown

Blue porcelain cup given me by Kün-sang-tse (ཀུན་སང་ཙེ) Shape in September 1916. R. S. Phala says that it is like one which the Shape uses himself and that it has the soft (འཇམ་པོ) and lustrous (མཛེན་པོ) look that only china of good quality has. Apparently of about 1800 A.D.

No. A42



Object Name: Lacquered Cup

Given by: Kusho Phalha

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse or Drongtse

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: July 1917

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.41

Reference: *Tibet* catalogue, 1953 Pg 62, No 7

NML inventory card describes the bowl as imitating,
'Pekin lacquer'

Cup, red lacquer on porcelain. Known to the Tibetans as Wang-ka (i.e 'cup of the time of King Wang) Believed to have been made in Tibet by Tibetans, so Palha Kusho says, as the design is Tibetan, being swastikas round the rim and another Tibetan design below. But query did Tibetans ever do this lacquer work? King Wang is said to have lived somewhat after Raipa-cha but before Tsongkhapa. He was assassinated by Chinese, who ascertained by divination that unless this was done China would become the vassal of Tibet. This cup K. Palha obtained from the chest (Yang-ku) of valuables which used to be in the Palha house near Gyantse and was removed from it during the Tibet Expedition of 1904. This cup has been at least 300 years in the possession of the Palha family in the Yang-ku. The most valuable things are kept in the yang-ku and are not taken out. The cup is 4 1/2 inches across the top. June 1917.

No. A43



Object Name: Incense bowl
 Purchased from: Kusho Phalha
 Place Made: China
 Place Obtained: Lhasa: Gesar lhakang
 Place Collected: Gyantse / Drongtse
 Date Made: 1426-1435
 Date Collected: June 1917
 Location: Unknown

Brass incense bowl. With 3 legs and 2 handles. 15 1/2 inches round widest part and 4 1/2 inches across the top. The mark at the bottom shows that it was made in the time of the Chinese Emperor Huan Te (1426-1435) and there seems no reason to doubt its being genuine, as Palha Kusho obtained it from the Chinese Temple in Lhasa known as the Ke-sar Lha-khang. Ku Palha asked the caretaker of the images to let him have one or two old articles, and so eventually the caretaker let him have this and number A44. Paid Ku Palha Rs 11/6 for this. See Bushall's "Chinese Art" Vol I, pp.71-75. June 1917.

No. A44



Object Name: Incense bowl

Purchased from: Kusho Phalha

Place Made: China

Place Obtained: Lhasa: Gesar lhakang

Place Collected: Gyantse / Drongtse

Date Made: 15th century

Date Collected: June 1917

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.53

Copper incense bowl, similar in age and general appearance to A43, and obtained in the same way. Paid Ku Palba Rs 11/6 for this also. June 1917.

No. A45



Object Name: Jade plaque

Purchased from: Kusho Phalha
 Obtained from: Choeden Karpo, Gyantse

Place Made: China
 Place Collected: Gyantse / Drongtse

Date Collected: June 1917

Location: Unknown

A piece of jade, white, with spots and lines of emerald green. Ku Palha obtained this from a Chinese civil official, formerly stationed at Chö-ten Kar-po in the Chumbi valley as Trim-pön and now (1917) living at Gyantse, where he sells his belongs as he is now very badly off, the Chinese being now out of power in Tibet and he out of employment. 1 1/2" long and 1 1/4" broad. See Busbell's "Chinese Art" Vol. I pp.128-129 (jadeite). Paid Ku Palha Rs 22/12, June 1917.

No. A46



Object Name: Pair of vases

Purchased from: Kusho Phalha

Obtained from: Kusho Doring

Place Made: China

Date Made: 18th century

Date Collected: November 1917

Location: Unknown

Reference: Believed to have been sent to Pestalozzi school in 1963, but not present during inventory in 2011.

Chinese porcelain vase, 7" high, about 8 1/2" round the top, whitey grey with blue painting on it and sort of crackle all over it. A head with ring of (apparently imitation) bronze on each side. Blue letters on base, which Palha Kusho says show the date. Palha Kusho obtained this vase from the Doring house at Lhasa he says it is probably 500 years old, and is of the same workmanship, as indeed would appear from their resemblance, as the large vase (at present Nov. 1917) on the dining room mantelpiece). Doring Kusho told Palha Kusho that he cannot say how many years it has been in the Doring house; it has been there as long as he can remember; i.e about 50 years, and possibly for 200 years or more. Obtained in Nov. 1917 by Ku. Palha from Doring.

No. A47



Object Name: Vase

Described by: Palhese

Given by: Panchen Lama

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Chumbi valley

Date Made: 18th – 19th century

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: Sent by the Panchen Lama to Bell, which he was waiting for permission to precede to Lhasa, Bell also received a request to visit Shigatse at that time, which he turned down.

Bronze flower vase, 13 inches high about 6 1/2 inches round the base, narrow with figures of a dragon (?) climbing up it. Palhese thinks it old, and to me also it seems old. Received on 9th September 1920 from Tashi Lama

No. A48



Object Name: Pair of vases

Described by: Palhese

Given by: Panchen Lama

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Chumbi valley

Date Made: 1662-1722

Date Collected: August 1920

Location: Private Collection

Reference: Given by Palhese to Bell as they rejoined for the mission to Lhasa in Chumbi valley.

This is a tentative identification, as I have not been able to date them with a seal or mark.

A pair of Kang-hsi vases, given me by Palhese in August 1920. Palhese says that these two vases were included among articles that were brought by Tsong-pön Choktar four generations ago, during the time when Tendzin NamOgyel Shappe was head of the Pal-ha household. Chok-tar was one of the better class servants in the Pal-ha household and was sent to Peking overland to buy in China pearls, jade, porcelain and silks of the best qualities and usually old ones. Such was formerly the practice among the Tibetan nobility. And the articles thus bought, were entered in catalogues, which were preserved in the house. It is in this catalogue that Palhese saw the entry of these two vases as having been brought at that time.

No. A49



Object Name: Cup with tail

Described by: Palhese
Given by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet: Lhokha: Dingcha
Place Collected: Chumbi valley

Date Collected: 9th September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: Given by Palhese to Bell as they rejoined for the mission to Lhasa in Chumbi valley.

Blue and white porcelain cup with tail received from Palhese on 9th September 1920. Palhese says it is some two thousand years old, having been made during the time when kings were first established in Tibet. Macdonald estimates it as only two hundred years old; adding that it is well known that formerly Tibetans used to make porcelain but have since lost the art, and that the crudeness of the workmanship on this cup indicates that it was made by a Tibetan. Palhese says that some two hundred cups like this one were made at Ding-cha in the Lho-ka country (south of Lhasa) by a Tibetan, who was a China-man re-incarnated, and that, after making these two hundred cups, he vanished in the air. The cups are known as Ding-kar; i.e "Ding-cha cups". A good many cups with tails like this are imported from China, but they are not to be compared in value with one of these old ones. These tailed cups are used by the Dalai Lama and high officials on occasions of unusual ceremony only. The patterns in blue on the cup are (kang-chung mang-chung) (ཀང་ཅུང་མང་ཅུང་) i.e random patterns without any special meaning. The cup is 16 inches round the upper circumference, 5 inches round the base and 4 1/4 inches high. The cup is mounted on a stand of Chinese brass with lotus petals carved on its upper tier and round the sides. This stand is also old, though very much newer than the cup. Nowadays such stands are usually made of silver. Above description given by Palhese, except the portion marked A. Palhese adds that he obtained this cup last year from Pü-kang monastery; which is situated between Gyantse and Shigatse, about ten miles from Gyantse. The monastery holds a piece of land included within Palhese's Serchok Estate and the lay superintendent (Tra-tsang) of the monastery gave the cup to Palhese in accordance with the usual customs by which tenure-holders give presents to their landlords. The lay superintendent described it as a cup of Tibetan porcelain and of great value.

No. A50



Object Name: Brass amulets

Purchased from: Luff

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: 6th October 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: Purchased by Bell from Luff as Bell waited for permission to travel to Lhasa..

6th October 1920. Four brass pieces bought from Mr. Luff at Gyantse for Rs60/-. He paid Rs40/- for them to a trader from Shigatse. The trader said they came from the Chinese minister's (presumably Amban's) at Gyantse, who has been stationed in Peking for a considerable time, having been the head of the Lama temple there, says that they are undoubtedly old and were used as charms on the back of the throne of the Chinese Emperor. Although in good condition on the whole, they appear to be old, and they bear near the tops inscriptions to the effect that they were made during the time of the Emperor Yung-lo, who lived about 1400 to 1420 A.D. The Amban's residence in Lhasa, as well as those of other people, was looted by the Chinese soldiery in 1911, when the Chinese Revolution broke out. These soldiery sold their loot to the Tibetans.

No. A51



Object Name: Coin

Purchased from: Palhese

Obtained from: Hram Tsongpön family

Place Made: Nepal

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Made: Around 1669

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Private collection

Reference: All the following coins were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(1) *Da-shu-ma Lang-nga* (The bow and arrow standing up) obtained from the Hram Tsong pön family at Gyantse, a very wealthy family. One face is as follows:- a bow on one side and arrows on the other; in the centre a full moon and a conch shell; also round the side (where the bow and arrows are) letters in what Tibetans call the *Len-tsa* character. The other face contains a triangle, - which Palhese calls a *chorten*, - in the middle, and more *Len-tsa* letters. This coin is the oldest in this lot of coins, and, except for the *Da-shu-keng-pa*, in which the arrow is fitted to the bow, is the oldest coin in Tibet. Price Rs 20/- . This coin is estimated by Palhese to be 500 to 1000 years old. Water with this coin in it (but preferably the *Da-shu-ma keng-pa*) is boiled and drunk by women to ease child-birth. Also kept as one of the "lucky things" (*yang-dze*) in the "luck-cupboard" (*yang-gam* རྟམ་གཤམ་) See Note Book (Vol. II, page 25) for Second Book on Tibet.

No. A52



Object Name: Coin

Purchased from: Palhese

Obtained from: Property officer for the Pelkor Chode monastery

Place Made: Nepal

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Made: 1684-1705

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Private collection

Reference: All the following coins were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(2) Tse-bum-ma obtained from the To-tam-ba (officer who has charge of the monastic property) of the large monastery (Pal-kor Chö-de) at Gyantse; price Rs 17/-. In the centre is a tse-bum, i.e. "bowl containing the nectar of immortality" with criss cross lines. On the other face are three squares, arranged thus [mandala shape] Len-tsa letters on both sides. This is the next oldest to the above Da-shu-ma Lang nga among these coins, and is estimated by Palhese to be 500 to 600 years old.

No. A53



Object Name: Coin

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: Nepal

Date Made: 1731

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Private collection

Reference: All the following coins were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(3) the Cha-tar Tang-ka i.e the "Upraised Flag Tang-ka". The flag appears to consist of a pole with a trident on the top. Len-tsa letters on both sides. This is the next oldest among these six coins to the Tse-bum-ma. Price Rs 17/-

No. A54



Object Name: Coin

Purchased from: Palhese

Obtained from: Property officer for the Pelkor Chode monastery

Place Made: Nepal

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following coins were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(4) The Seng-ge-ma having the design of a Seng-ge (mythological lion) in the centre. Len-tsa letters on both sides. This coin is of about the same age as the Cha-tar Tang-ka, but perhaps a little later. Obtained with the Tse-bum-ma from the Pal-kör Chö-de monastery at Gyantse. Price Rs 10/-.

No. A55



Object Name: Coin

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: Nepal

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following coins were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(5) Par-nying Dung-tse-ma, "The moderately old Spear Tip one". Said to have the tip of a spear represented on it, but too old for recognition. Next oldest and estimated by Palhese to be about 300 years old. Price one rupee.

No. A56



Object Name: Coin

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Date Made: 1795

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: British Museum and Private Collection.

Reference: All the following coins were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(6) *Ang-truk-ma* i.e. "Number Six". In the centre of each face is a dot in a square, thus [diagram shown] This is the latest of the six coins; Palhese estimates it at 200 years old. Price one rupee. On one face it bears the name of *Chien-lung* in Tibetan letters; so is evidently a Chinese coin of the period of the Emperor *Chien Lung*, minted for use in Tibet. Except the *Ang-truk-ma* it would appear that all the above coins were made in Nepal.

No. A57-A69



Object Name: Coin

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: China and Nepal

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: British Museum and Private Collection.

Reference: All the following coins were purchased from Palhese in September 1920
Impossible to identify these coins individually with such limited documentation, but the British Museum and a private collection has a number of coins from Bell's collection.

Thirteen old coins. Ten of which were made in Nepal and three in China, but all used in Tibet. Given me by Ku-sho She-sur on the 1st October 1921.

No. A70



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: David Macdonald

Obtained from: Wangdu, rug trader

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Macdonald in September 1920

No 1. 5' x 2 ft 8 inches, excluding red cloth round the border. Yellow background. Bought for Rs110/- from a Tibetan trader at Gyantse, who has come down in the world. This rug was left to him by his parent. He keeps it shut up, because it is too good for his present position and he feels shame at the evidence which it affords of his having come down in the world. This trader's name is Wang-dü. The rug is classed as a She-rum ("Crystal rug"), being considered as of better class than an ordinary Chinese rug (Gya-rum). The hair is finer than that of a Gya-rum.

No. A71



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: David Macdonald

Obtained from: Property officer at Pelkor Chode monastery

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Macdonald in September 1920

(2) A Gya-rum bought for Rs 50/-. 4' 5" by 2' 1", excluding red border cloth. Yellow background, called by Tibetans flesh colour (sha-dok). Blue and yellow border. Colours said by Mr Macdonald to be old. Much worn. Bought from an officer (to-tam-pa) of Palkor Chö-de Monastery at Gyantse.

No. A72



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: David Macdonald

Obtained from: Monk

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Near Gyantse

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Macdonald in September 1920

(3) A Gya-rum 4' 5" by 2' 2" excluding red border cloth. Blue background. Mr Macdonald says that the colours are old. Ornamented with apricot flowers at the corners and two butterflies, one of each side of the centre piece. Elsewhere flowers and leaves. Bought for Rs 60/- from a monk in a monastery near Gyantse.

No. A73



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: David Macdonald

Obtained from: Monk

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Near Gyantse

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Macdonald in September 1920

(4) A Gya-rum 3' 10" by 1' 10" excluding red border. Pinkish background; Mr Macdonald calls it flesh colour (sha-dok). Four large apricot flowers round the centre piece, which Tibetans describe as a tang-ka (Tibetan coin, worth at present - September 1920 - four anna) Has a good sheen, like velvet. Mr Macdonald says the colours indicate that the rug is old. Bought for Rs 50/- from a monk of a monastery near Gyantse. Regarding the above four rungs, which were bought through Mr. Macdonald, the latter says that the flesh colour (sha-dok) and the yellow colour are old, but the green yellow is more modern.

No. A74



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: 27th September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

The following Chinese rugs were bought through Palhese at Gyantse on the 27th September 1920 and described by him as below. (5) A Gya-rum of the second class. 4' 4" by 2' 3 1/2". Blue background with a large number of white leaves (?) over it. T pattern border, representing the Great Wall of China. Palhese says it is old, perhaps 200 years old. Price Rs 60/-

No. A75



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: 27th September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(6) A She-rum of the second class, 4' 4" long by 2' 2". Blue and yellow background, yellow in centre, blue mostly round this, yellow near the edge and blue on the extreme edge. Ornamented all over with flowers, yellow and blue. A wall pattern on the yellow border. At least 300 to 500 years old. Price Rs80/-

No. A76



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: 27th September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(7) She-rum of the second class 4' 7" by 2' 2 1/2". Flower ornamentation in middle and round the border 300 to 500 years old, but more worn than No. (6). Price Rs 70/-.

No. A77



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: 27th September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(8) Small square Gya-Rum 2' 2" by 2' 2", 3rd class. Yellow background with ornamentation of trees in blue. Perhaps 200 years old.

No. A78



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: 27th September 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: All the following rugs were purchased from Palhese in September 1920

(9) Small Square Gya-rum similar to No. (8).

No. A79



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: Pasang (Jamadar of Gyantse Trade Agency)

Obtained from: Lheding family

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

(10) Gya-rum 4' 4" by 2' 2" brought by Pasang Jamadar of Gyantse Trade Agency from Lhe-ding Chön-dze of Gyantse. Yellow background with blue border of T pattern. Centre piece is a blue dragon on background of yellow rather darker than the remainder of the yellow background. Other blue dragons in four corners. Pasang says it is a Gya-rum of first class.

No. A80



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: Palhese

Obtained from: Chanye family

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

(11) Through Palhese, price Rs 50/- 4' 5" by 2' 2" blue background with a large number of white flowers on it. The T pattern is said to represent the Great Wall of China. Reddish yellow Tang-ka in the middle with a pink and white centre. Obtained from the Cha-nye ("Sleeping Bird") family in Gyantse, the leading family of agriculture there. Palhese thinks it has been some 200 years in the Cha-nye household. The rug is brought out for use 3 or 4 times only in each year, for covering a seat composed of two of the Tibetan mattresses (böl, བོལ) the Tibetan New Year being one of these occasions. At other times it is kept in a box or case, made as a rule of yak hide. The same procedure is followed with nearly all Chinese rugs.

No. A81



Object Name: Rug

Purchased from: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Gyantse

Date Collected: September 1920

Location: Unknown

(12) Through Palhese, price Rs 50/- . Green background with blue, yellow and red flowers on it. Round the rim are flowers, butterflies and tangkas.

No. A82



Object Name: Incense burner

Purchased from: Mr Dyer

Obtained from: Ladakhi merchant

Place Made: China

Place Obtained: Muru Nyingpa monastery, Lhasa

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: 28th November 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: A letter in the NML archive records that this incense burner was the Bell family in 1959. It may have been sent to Pestalozzi, or it may be possible that A43 is actually this entry.

Brass Incense bowl bought in Lhasa on 28th November 1920 (I arrived in Lhasa on 17th November 1920 and left on 19th October 1921) with outside top diameter of 5 1/2", rim raised to form handles mark of Heïian Te (14-26-35) on the bottom. Bought through Mr. Dyer, Civil Surgeon, Gangtok, from a Ladakhi merchant, who says it comes from the Chinese chapel by the Muru monastery at Lhasa. Paid Rs 20/- for it.

No. A83



Object Name: Incense burner

Purchased from: Mr Dyer

Obtained from: Ladakhi merchant

Place Made: China

Place Obtained: Muru Nyingpa monastery, Lhasa

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: 28th November 1920

Location: Unknown

Reference: It may be possible that A44 is actually this entry.

Brass Incense bowl similar to above, except that outside top diameter is just under 4" and the handles are at the side. History and mark similar to those of the bowl above, No. 82.

No. A84



Object Name: Eating utensils sets

Given by: Palhese

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: 10th February 1920

Location: Unknown

Set of three chopsticks accompanied by knife with jade handle. Given me on 10th February 1921 by Palhese, as a good omen (tem-drel) for the New Year, which is on now. It comes from the Bang-gye-sbar house, where it has been for a long time and it might be 200 to 300 years old. In a black and white (fish-skin?) case with little bits of ivory on it and with embossed silver work at the ends. The total length of the chopsticks and case is 12 inches.

No. A85



Object Name: Leopard skin

Given by: Tsarong

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: 25th May 1921

Location: Unknown

Skins given me by Tsa-rong Shap-pe on 25th May 1921. (1) Clouded Leopard called "Kung" in Tibetan. Found in Kong-bo, Po and generally in districts in which bamboos grow. In poor condition owing to moth.

No. A86



Object Name: Leopard skin

Given by: Tsarong

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: 25th May 1921

Location: Unknown

(2) Black Leopard called "Si-na" in Tibetan. Found in Po, but not much in districts where bamboos grow. In somewhat poor condition, as badly cured in Tibet and so attacked by moth on the journey to England

No. A87



Object Name: Leopard skin

Given by: Tsarong

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: 25th May 1921

Location: Unknown

(3) Ordinary Leopard as found in Tibet and even in the vicinity of Lhasa, but probably not at elevations much higher than this. On account of the cold it has in Tibet a better coat than leopards have in India.

No. A88



Object Name: Leopard skin

Given by: Tsarong

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: 25th May 1921

Location: Unknown

(4) Known to Tibetans as Bamboo Leopard (Nyuk-sik).

No. A89

Object Name: Ritual implements or *torche*

Described by: Palhese

Given by: Ngampo Shap

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: May 1921

Location: Unknown

Tor-che (ཁོ་ཅེ་མེ་མོ་) given me by Ngar-pö Shap-pe in May 1921. Small balls of barley-meal are put into the saucer from the spoon. The saucer is placed on the tripod in the large copper plate. Then water is poured from the copper pot which has a handle and spout. It is believed that the Yi-das (Sanskrit "preta") feed on the food and drink the water thus given. While giving the food and water, incantations (ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་) are repeated. This service may be held by laymen as well as by priests. The above was told to me by Palhese

No. A90



Object Name: Incense bowl

Described by: Palhese

Given by: Kusho Surkang

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa

Date Collected: June 1921

Location: Unknown

Reference: A letter in the NML archives notes that this incense bowl was with the family in 1959. It may have been sent to Pestalozzi School in 1963, but it was not present when items were inventoried in 2011.

Brass incense bowl with outside top diameter of 5 1/2 inches given me by Kusho Sur-kang in June 1921. Cover with dark green colouring, partly worn off through age, which Palhese calls "Turquoise colour", and says was put on when the bowl was made. Bears the mark of Heïian Te (1426-35) on the bottom, Palhese thinks the bowl is genuine, not a fake. He says these bowls were much used by the Chinese in Lhasa as incense bowls, both in their chapels - of which there are three in Lhasa - and in their private houses. The Chinese having been nearly all driven out of Lhasa in 1911 and succeeding years, several of these bowls are now in Tibetan private houses and on sale in the market, including the older ones. The Chinese used bowls of older periods when possible, as, being more valuable, they are more suitable for purposes of worship.

No. A91



Object Name: Pair of cups

Described by: Dalai Lama

Given by: Dalai Lama

Owned by: Emperor Shunzhi

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa: Norbulingka

Date Collected: 16th October 1921

Location: Unknown

Reference: The material the cups and dishes are made from is something of a mystery. There is a ma-nohu, which is a quartz or jade like material, which would fit with the Dalai Lama's collecting agenda.

The articles enumerated below, Nos 91 to 98 inclusive, were given me by the Dalai Lama at my farewell interview with him in Norbu Lingka on 16th October 1921. (1) A pair of cups of the material called Ma-no-bu each standing on a flat dish of the same material [in Bell's handwriting] - See translation of Biography of Sönam Gya-tso (Tibetan History File I sub file 9 page 10.)

No. A92



Object Name: Jade bowl

Described by: Dalai Lama

Given by: Dalai Lama

Owned by: Emperor Shunzhi

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa: Norbulingka

Date Collected: 16th October 1921

Location: Unknown

(2) Jade Bowl with ring handles.

No. A93



Object Name: Jade vessel

Described by: Dalai Lama

Given by: Dalai Lama

Owned by: Emperor Shunzhi

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa: Norbulingka

Date Collected: 16th October 1921

Location: Unknown

(3) Jade vessel shaped like a tea-pot. No lid.

No. A94



Object Name: Jade bowl
Described by: Dalai Lama
Given by: Dalai Lama
Owned by: Emperor Shunzhi
Place Made: China
Place Collected: Lhasa: Norbulingka
Date Collected: 16th October 1921
Location: Unknown

(4) *Small bowl of "fish-eye" jade with handles.*

No. A95



(5) Jade vase on wooden stand, the latter broken.

Object Name: Jade vase

Described by: Dalai Lama

Given by: Dalai Lama

Owned by: Emperor Shunzhi

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa: Norbulingka

Date Made: 17th century

Date Collected: 16th October 1921

Location: Unknown

No. A96



Object Name: Jade sceptre or *ruyi*

Described by: Dalai Lama

Given by: Dalai Lama

Owned by: Emperor Shunzhi

Place Made: China

Place Collected: Lhasa: Norbulingka

Date Made: 17th century

Date Collected: 16th October 1921

Location: National Museums Liverpool 5.31.87

(6) Jade stick with crook on the top for hanging on a pillar and for use in the presence of the Emperor of China.

No. A97



Object Name: Large baluster vase

Described by: Dalai Lama
Tsarong

Given by: Dalai Lama

Owned by: Emperor Shunzhi

Place Made: China: Jingdezhen

Place Collected: Lhasa: Norbulingka

Date Made: 1661-1722

Date Collected: 16th October 1921

Location: National Museums Liverpool 50.31.68

Reference: This is a tentative identification. This looks like an Imperial ware vase and the narrative that this vase came from the Dalai Lama has always been attached to this object at NML, but if this was a pair the other vase has not been traced.

(7) Two large blue and white porcelain jars. The Dalai Lama told me that the above Nos. 91 to 97 were all given by the then Emperor of China to the 5th Dalai Lama, who visited the Emperor in Peking. This was afterwards confirmed independently by the Tsa-rong Shap-pe speaking to Kennedy.

No. A98



Object Name: Pair of cloisonné teapots

Described by: Dalai Lama

Given by: Dalai Lama

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Lhasa: Norbulingka

Date Made: 19th century

Date Collected: 16th October 1921

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.37

(8) Two small tea-pots of Tibetan cloisonné. When giving me the above presents Nos. 91 to 98, the Dalai Lama said to me "I do not wish to give you a great number of things which would be useless to you, but rather to give you a few things which are really good."

No. A99



Object Name: Cloisonné pen pot

Described by: Palhese

Given by: Palhese

Owned by: Kusho Doring

Place Made: China

Place Collected: England: Edgcumbe

Place Obtained: Lhasa

Date Made: 19th centuryDate Collected: 7^h March 1927

Location: National Museums Liverpool, 50.31.36

Reference: This was given to Bell by Palhese when he visited Bell at his home in Edgcumbe, Berkshire in 1927. Palhese had come to help Bell finish his soon to be published book 'The People of Tibet'.

7th March 1927. Given me by Palhese and described by him. A cloisonne cylindrical jar without lid. Blue inside. 5" high, 8 3/4" in circumference. Outside, copper band round bottom, above this, light blue band 3/4 inch high. Above this, designs of flowers and leaves. Used for keeping pens, pocket knives, and small things of this kind. Do-ring gave this to Palhese three or four years ago. Do-ring had it in the Do-ring house in Lhasa, and kept it on his table for keeping pens etc. in it.

No. A100



Object Name: Pair of baluster vases

Described by: Palhese

Given by: Dalai Lama

Place Made: China

Place Collected: England: Edgcumbe

Place Obtained: Lhasa

Date Made: 1736-1795

Date Collected: 7th March 1927

Location: Private collection

Reference: These were given to Bell by Palhese when he visited Bell at his home in Edgcumbe, Berkshire in 1927. Palhese had come to help Bell finish his soon to be published book *The People of Tibet*.

7th March 1927. Sent to me by the Dalai Lama with a letter through Palhese. A pair of blue and white porcelain vases of the period of Chien-lung. On each two dragons facing each other, and clouds. Used as flower vases. Height 9 1/4".

No. A101



Object Name: Pair of cloisonné vases

Described by: Palhese

Given by: Dalai Lama

Place Made: China

Place Collected: England: Edgcumbe

Place Obtained: Lhasa

Date Made: 18th centuryDate Collected: 7^h March 1927

Location: Private collection

Reference: These were given to Bell by Palhese when he visited Bell at his home in Edgcumbe, Berkshire in 1927. Palhese had come to help Bell finish his soon to be published book *The People of Tibet*.

7th March 1927. Sent to me by the Dalai Lama with letter through Palhese (with A100). A pair of old cloisonne flower vases with black background and designs of apricot flowers. Height 9 1/2".

No. No Number



Object Name: Life size pair of soldier figures

Described by: Palhese

Purchased by: Palhese

Place Made: Tibet

Place Collected: Gangtok

Place Obtained: Lhasa

Date Made: Before 1918

Date Collected: Before 1918

Location: Unknown

Reference: A pair of life size figures commissioned by Palhese and sent to Bell at Gangtok. The earring mentioned on the soldiers may be in the British Museum, 1933,0508.29.

Note on soldiers which Ku Palhese is sending me. Two men of wood, arms, body, legs, head each separate. In right ear a turquoise (yu) - left ----- a ring (a-long). On left, a sword of common soldier with leather band (ཆེན་མོ་) Boots of leather. The right and left boots so not differ from each other.

Appendix 2

Biographical Entries

Introduction

Lady Cashie Bell (nee Kerr Fernie)

(10th April 1876 – 20th September 1935)

Wife of Charles Bell. Born in Blundellsands in North Liverpool, Cashie was the daughter of Liverpool shipping company owner David Fernie. After their courtship Cashie travelled to India in late 1911 and married Charles in St Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta on the 15th January 1912. She moved with Charles to the Gangtok Residency and travelled with him on several southern Tibet annual tours. She travelled with Bell in 1933 to north-eastern India for one final trip to southern Tibet, followed by a tour of Japan, China, Manchuria and Mongolia with their daughter Rongye. While in Beijing Cashie contracted meningitis and died a few days later on the 20th September 1935. She was cremated there, but Bell took her ashes with him to Vancouver Island and the two are interned together at Oak Ridge Memorial Park.

Thubten Gyatso

(27th May 1876–17th December 1933)

Thirteenth Dalai Lama, temporal leader of Tibet and the spiritual leader of the *Gelukpa*. He was born in a district of Takpo (or Dagpo), in southern Tibet. He was recognised as the reincarnation of the twelve Dalai Lama in 1877 and taken to the Potala to begin his monastic training the following year. In 1895 he came to power, taking over the reins of both spiritual and temporal power. His five-point edict of that year set out his ambitions for Tibet and his wishes for the country. Having overcome an attempted assassination by the Demo Rinpoche, the Regent of Tibet and Head of Tengyeling Monastery, in 1896 his political powers grew. The British having heard rumours of Russia interventions in Tibet sent a British Mission, which would become known as the Younghusband punitive expedition into Tibet in 1903-04 forcing the Dalai Lama to flee from Lhasa to Mongolia, June 1904. Following a long stay in Mongolia he travelled to Peking in 1908 meeting under strained circumstances the Chinese Emperor Kwang Hsu and the Dowager Empress Cixi. Having returned to Lhasa in late 1909 he would again be forced to flee Tibet this time to British India's Darjeeling in February 1910 to escape Qing military forces. He would stay in north-eastern India for more than two years leaving in June 1912. On his return to Lhasa he issued a statement in February 1913 that is widely regarded as Tibet's statement of

independence. In response to his exile he instigated a series of government reforms, including new taxation systems (which prompted the ninth Panchen Lama to flee into exile himself), the development of an army and police force and the opening of a short-lived English-language school. His reforms would be resisted by the conservative monastic factions and in 1921 the Dalai Lama was forced to repress a rebellion. Before his death in December 1933 he issued his final testimony warning of Tibet's demise.

Captain J A Keble

(Dates unknown)

Having retired from the 1st East Surrey Regiment, Keble took up tea planting and in the early twentieth century he was Manager of the Happy Valley Tea Estate in Darjeeling. He wrote several short books compiled from newspaper publications including, *Darjeeling Ditties and Other Poems* which had gone into a second edition by 1912.

Kodak Studios

(1892-Present)

Photographic Studio, established in Kalimpong (present location Thana Dara), by three brothers, Ganesh Chandra Pyne, Kartik Chandra Pyne and Durga Chandra Pyne. Their father B K Pyne is said to have worked as an accountant for Dr Graham in Scotland and eventually decided to move with the Grahams to Kalimpong along with his three sons. Kartik Chandra Pyne would be employed by Bell as tour photographer in 1933-34 and from his presence in the Lhasa Mission photograph it also seems that he took photographs for Bell in Lhasa in 1920-21.

Sardar Bahadur Sonam Wangfel Laden La

(1876-1936)

Born into a Bhutia family in Sikkim, Laden La lived the majority of his life in Darjeeling. His uncle was the influential Ugyen Gyatso. He attended the Jesuit Sunny Bank school and was trained in Tibetan by Shabdung Lama Sherab Gyatso. In 1894 he was employed by the British India government at the Government Press in Darjeeling, working on Das's Tibetan-English Dictionary project. He would work as interpreter for several Deputy Commissioners of Darjeeling and would be trained as a Police Officer rising to a senior post in the Darjeeling

Police Force. He would act as Police Security for the ninth Panchen Lama's visit to Calcutta in 1905-06 and during the thirteenth Dalai Lama's exile in British India. He would accompany four Tibetan boys to England in 1913 and would meet George V in June of that year. He would assist Tibet in the establishment of its own police force and having retired from service due to a series of stress related breakdowns after a contentious stay in Lhasa in 1924, he would devote himself to local politics and to the self determination of Darjeeling's hill peoples.

David Macdonald

(1870-1962)

Born Dorje Macdonald to a Scottish tea planter father and a Sikkimese Lepcha mother, Macdonald went to the Darjeeling Bhutia Boarding School. In 1889 Waddell supported Macdonald's first posting in the British India government's Vaccination Department. Macdonald would work as translator and assistant to Waddell for a number of publication projects including *Lamaism*. He would also act as interpreter and assistant to Waddell during the Younghusband punitive expedition in 1903-04. As a result he would spend several months in 1905 working in the India Museum, Calcutta cataloguing the Tibetan objects and manuscripts that had been bought out of Tibet. He had been working with Bell on his publications and translations from as early as 1901 and in 1908 Bell selected Macdonald as British Trade Agent Yatung, a post he would hold, along with British Trade Agent Gyantse (1918-1924) until he retired in 1924. He opened a school in Darjeeling and a handicraft centre. Following his retirement he opened the Himalaya Hotel in Kalimpong and wrote several books and tour guides including, *Twenty Years in Tibet*.

Sir Thutob Namgyal

(1860- 11th February 1914)

Ninth Chogyal of Sikkim. Became Chogyal of Sikkim in 1874 at the age of fourteen. He married three times, his third wife being Yeshe Dolma. Following a plot to usurp the Chogyal by Paul, the Deputy Commissioner Darjeeling and White the Political Officer Sikkim, the Chogyal was placed under house arrest both in Kurseong and Gangtok and during this time White became the defacto ruler of Sikkim with the support of the Khangsa brother, Khangsa Dewan and the Phodang Lama. In 1895 he return to Sikkim as undisputed ruler and established his seat in Gangtok. He would

provide translators for the Younghusband punitive expedition and in December 1911, at the Delhi Durbar he would be made a Knight Commander of the Indian Empire (KCIE). He died of Chronic Brights disease.

Alfred Wallace Paul

(26th May 1847- 9th August 1912)

CSI. He was educated at Clifton and Oxford University and entered the ICS in 1868, arriving in India in November 1870. He served as Political Officer during the Macaulay Mission to Tibet in 1884, taking photographs during the mission. He became Deputy Commissioner in 1887, but also held the post of Special Commissioner for Anglo-Chinese Border Convention 1891. He held the post of Deputy Commissioner Darjeeling until he retired in 1895. He worked closely with the then Political Officer Sikkim, John Claude White developing a policy that would lead to the attempted overthrow and house arrest of the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim Thutob Namgyal. He also collected Tibetan curios and his substantial collection was auctioned off in London on the 30th June-1st July 1912.

Elaine Tankard

(1901-1966)

Born in Manchester, Tankard studied Classics at Liverpool University from 1919 and developed a specialism in Greek Archaeology gaining a BA and MA. She worked on several digs at Sparta as illustrator and also took the opportunity to travel in Italy visiting several museums. She took up her first post at Liverpool Museum (now World Museum) in 1931. She became the museum's first female Keeper in 1935 and would act as Director on several occasions. Following the devastation of the Blitz in May 1941, she would go on to rebuild the Oriental collections and specifically the Tibet collections. using British India networks. As a result she created a Tibet collection that contains nearly 2,500 objects and which is described as being of, 'unique importance'.

Gegen Dorje Tharchin

(1890-1976)

Also known as 'Tharchin Babu', Tharchin was a Tibetan Christian who founded the Tibet Mirror Press in Kalimpong, India. Its most well known product was the Tibetan language newspaper, *Tibet Mirror* or *Melong*, which had a wide circulation across the Himalaya, paid for by subscription. He also edited many other Tibetan

language publications, which were published by the press from the early 1920s through to the late 1960s.

Sidkyong Tulku

(1879-5th December 1914)

Tenth Chogyal of Sikkim. Born Chotal Namgyal, he was the second son of the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim. Recognised by the fifteenth Karmapa as the reincarnation of his uncle Sidkyong Namgyal, the eighth Chogyal of Sikkim, he was given the name Sidkyong Tulku. He became the abbot of Phodong monastery, North Sikkim. Having both received a Buddhist education and undertaken a pilgrimage to Buddhist sites in India, Burma and Sri Lanka, he went on to receive a British India approve education under the guidance of Raja Tenduk, Das and the Rector of Darjeeling's St Paul's. In 1903 he attended the Delhi Durbar instead of his father and in 1905-06 he accompanied the ninth Panchen Lama on a tour of India's sacred Buddhist sites. From 1906-08 he furthered his education at Oxford University followed by a tour of North America and East Asia, he met the thirteenth Dalai Lama in Beijing (Pekin) in November 1908. On his return to Sikkim he was given greater authority over the administrative control of education, forestry and monastic departments and implemented a number of modernizing reforms in these areas. In 1910, he accompanied the Dalai Lama to Calcutta for a meeting with the Viceroy of India followed by a visit to Bodh Gaya, whose restoration he became deeply concerned with and in 1911 he attended the coronation Delhi Durbar and was made a CIE. He died just months after his father before he could fully succeed as the tenth Chogyal of Sikkim.

John Claude White

(1853-1919)

CIE. Following the Sikkim border skirmishes with Tibet in 1888-89, White was appointed as the first Political Officer Sikkim in 1889. He had previously worked in the Public Works Department after retiring from the Indian army. This was the beginning of White's de facto rule over Sikkim that would result in the attempted ousting of the Sikkim Chogyal Thutob Namgyal and the Royal family's house arrests in Kurseong and Gangtok. He would introduce a series of modernising reforms in Sikkim including the introduction of Nepalese peoples into the State. He would accompany Sidkyong Tulku to the Delhi Durbar of 1903, he would be a member of

the party for the Panchen Lama's visit to Calcutta in 1905/06 and he would undertake a missions to Bhutan in 1905 and 1907. In 1903 he was appointed as Joint Commissioner for the mission to Tibet that would become known as the Younghusband punitive expedition and he would be the official photographer during the expedition. He was a gifted photographer and several albums were produced by the photographic studio Johnston and Hoffman. He also collected and he had a particular interest in the metalwork of the region.

Lieutenant Colonel Sir Francis

Younghusband

(31st May 1863-31st July 1942)

Having been educated at Clifton and Sandhurst he joined the Indian army in 1882. Whilst on leave in 1886 he crossed the Gobi desert on a journey from China to India and then in 1889 he transferred to the Political Department. He would be stationed for a time in Kashgar and would play a significant role in the 'Great Game', the clandestine exploration and territorial manoeuvres that transpired between British India and Russia in central Asia. Having met the future Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India while stationed in Chitral, he would later be selected as Joint Commissioner for the Tibet Mission 1903-04. He would take control of the mission, which is today known as the Younghusband punitive expedition. After several attempts at negotiation, Younghusband decided to push his troops on through southern Tibet, but having confronted Tibetan resistance in the small hamlet of Guru, the British troops opened fire on the Tibetans who had taken up arms, killing hundreds of people. The expedition was responsible for the looting and destruction of several monasteries, *dzongs* and aristocratic homes as it progressed to Lhasa, where a treaty signing with the skeleton Tibetan government on the 4th September 1904 was enforced. On the expedition's conclusion he had a spiritual epiphany that would eventually lead him to a New Age spiritualism and the founding of the World Congress of Faiths in 1936. As the President of the Royal Geographical Society he would play a significant role in organising the first of the expedition parties to Everest in the 1920s.

Chapter 1

Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Marshman 'Eric' Bailey

(3rd February 1882- 17th April 1967)

Spy, diplomat and explorer. Having completed his studies at Sandhurst he joined the India army in 1901. In March 1903 he transferred to the 32rd Sikh Pioneers in order to join what would be known as the Younghusband Punitive expedition. Following the expedition he would gain a transfer to the Political Department in 1906. He would go on to serve as the British Trade Agent in Gyantse (1907-1909). He would undertake unauthorised surveys of the Assam-Tibetan borderlands and would have a blue poppy from the region named after him. He would serve in the First World War and would be wounded in action twice. He would then serve as Political Officer in several frontier outposts and would undertake a further covert mission to Tashkent in 1918. In 1921 he would take up the post of Political Officer Sikkim taking over from acting officer David Macdonald. He would make several trips to Tibet including Lhasa and Bhutan. Having left the post in 1928 he would be appointed to a series of Resident posts culminating in his posting to Kathmandu as Minister. He and his wife Irma would be actively involved in the formation of the Tibet collection at Liverpool, selling and donating a large proportion of their collection to the museum over a period of thirty years. Bailey would act as chief guest and officially open Liverpool's major exhibition entitled, 'Tibet' in 1953.

Arthur "Artie" Bell

(27th July 1869 – 23rd August 1892)

Elder brother of Charles Bell. Born in Calcutta, sent to Twyford School and then Marlborough College for an English education. Attended Military College, Woolwich in 1887 and in the same year as Charles, 1891, travel to India to begin a career in the Indian Army, serving in the same districts as his brother and father. He died just one year later in 1892, drowning in the monsoon swollen Mahanandi River.

Sarat Chandra Das

(1849-1917)

British India *pundit* and first headmaster of the Darjeeling Bhutia Boarding School. Having come to Darjeeling from Calcutta to take up the post of Headmaster, Das would combine his teaching duties with covert surveillance trips into southern Tibet with Ugyen Gyatso. His 1882 trip to Drongtse and Lhasa and his meeting with the Phalha family ensured he gained great notoriety. Having settled in Darjeeling at 'Lhasa Villas', he went on to

publish several confidential and limited edition accounts of his travels, which would be turned into the more widely available, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* published in 1902. His major work would be *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms* also published in 1902 that was in reality the product of the perseverance of Lama Sherab Gyatso and in addition, Ugyen Gyatso, the Moravian missionary Rev. Augustine William (Wilhelm) Heyde and the Calcutta based chaplain, Graham Sandberg. He would also act as language teacher to several prominent explorers and spiritual seekers including the Japanese man Ekai Kawaguchi.

Raja Ugyen Dorji

(1855-1916)

Bhutanese diplomat and aristocrat. In 1899 while Darjeeling *vakil* or agent, he was employed by Lord Curzon to deliver the ill-fated letter, that would be returned, unopened, to the Dalai Lama. He would become an important representative employed by both the British and the Bhutanese, serving as Kazi, Penlop (governor) and finally Deb Zimpon (Chief Minister) He would move to Bhutan House in Kalimpong and would host the Dalai Lama in 1912 and the house still contains a shrine commissioned for the Dalai Lama. He would escort the Dalai Lama back into Tibetan territory on his return. He would be present at many major Anglo-Bhutanese events, including the Viceroy's meeting with the Panchen Lama in 1906, the 1903 and 1911 Delhi Durbars and the 1910 Punakha treaty signing. His son Tobgay would take over from him on his death in 1916 and would marry into the Sikkim Royal family.

James W A Grieve

(Dates Unknown)

From at least 1902 until 1905 he worked in the Forestry Department of the Bengal government stationed in Kalimpong as a Deputy Conservator, 4th grade, Bell notes that his sister was stationed there with him. He wrote a report on the forests of Sikkim in 1907. Grieve and Bell appear likely to have met during Bell's employment on the Kalimpong Survey between 1901-02 and he is also noted later in Bell's diaries, as they take a tour of Sikkim together in 1910.

Rai Bahadur Lama Ugyen Gyatso

(b.1851-c.1915)

Nyingmapa monk from Pemayangtse Monastery, whose family owned estates in Southern Sikkim,

and who, for several generations, had served the Chogyals of Sikkim. He accompanied the eighth Chogyal Sidkyong Namgyal (1819-1874) on his goodwill mission to meet the British in Darjeeling in 1873, a result of which was the opening of Darjeeling's Bhutia Boarding School. He would be the first Tibetan teacher at the school and would work closely with the school's headmaster, Sarat Chandra Das. In 1878, he went as an envoy from Pemayangtse monastery to Tashi Lhünpo monastery and during this visit gained approval for Das to travel into Tibet. He and Das would undertake a covert trip into Tibet the following year. They would work together on several books and particularly Das's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1902). He would act as interpreter for the British during the Anglo-Tibetan skirmishes on the Sikkim borders in 1888-89 and he would also work closely with John Claude White and Alfred Wallace Paul. He would be appointed as manager of the Kalimpong estates from 1895-1910. He was also the uncle of Sonam Wangfel Laden La.

Lama Sherab Gyatso

(c.1820 –after 1902)

Mongolian astrologer monk, who was the Abbot of Ghum (or Ghoom) monastery. He travelled across Tibet in the 1850s, providing information on his travels to the British in the 1860s. On his arrival in Darjeeling he taught at the Bhutia Boarding School. He would be the first Tibetan language teacher to Ekai Kawaguchi (who would describe him as a 78 year old man in 1898) and he would be chiefly responsible for Das's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1902). He taught several British India trained boys Tibetan at Ghum monastery, including Laden La.

Kachen Lobsang Tsering (given name, Sherab Gyatso)

(died c.1909)

Known as the Shabdung Lama by the British. A Buriyat monk who was a personal assistant to Drongtse monastery's Sengchen Lama who was executed in 1887. He would act as Das's 'water fetching monk-boy' in 1882 at Drongtse monastery. He would escape to Darjeeling after the Sengchen Lama's execution and would settle at Ghum monastery. He worked as a print assistant on Das's dictionary project and Ekai Kawaguchi lived in his house for several months in 1898 perfecting his Tibetan. He would be employed by F W O'Connor as an intelligence gatherer in Darjeeling and he would accompany

O'Connor during the Younghusband punitive expedition. Macdonald recalls him goading the Tibetans suggesting that the expedition was revenge for his master's murder. He was likely Charles Bell's first Tibetan language teacher.

Vincent Calile Henderson

(c.1873 - unknown)

Irish man who having served six years in the 19th Hussars, joined the Chinese Maritime Customs Office in January 1899 and in 1900 was posted as '4th Assistant B' to Yatung. From September 1904–April 1907 he served as Yatung's Customs Officer. He was an ambitious and very able officer who was highly regarded by his employees and his influence was feared by his British India counterparts. He compiled a *Tibetan Manual* in 1903 and was also noted for his language skills in Hindi, Russian, French and German.

Tsendrön

(active 1920-1932)

Monk official. Personal name Tenzin Choephel. He was a fifth rank monk official with the title, 'Peak Secretary', i.e. Secretary at the Potala. He would act as Neshenpa or guide for several British Missions, including Bell's in 1920-21. Bell recalled that he was a man blessed with high intelligence and Bell and he had wide ranging discussions on a variety of topics while together in Lhasa.

Hugh E Richardson

(22nd December 1905 – 3rd December 2000)

Diplomat and Tibetologist. Having joined the ICS in 1930 he held posts in Bengal and Balochistan (under Basil Gould). Having developed an interest in Tibet following a visit there he would be appointed by Gould as British Trade Agent Gyantse in 1936 and he would be part of the mission to Lhasa that same year. He remained in Lhasa as head of the British mission and would serve in the city until 1950. He was a renowned scholar of Tibetan history and a life-long supporter of Tibetan independence and a founding and influential member of the Tibet Society, UK.

Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry McMahon

(28th November 1862-29th December 1949)

GCMG, GCVO, KCIE, CSI, KStJ. Having first served in the Indian Army, McMahon would become an administrator and diplomat in the British empire. He would act as British India plenipotentiary during the Simla conference of

1913-14, and the boundaries set between Tibet and British India during this conference are still known as the McMahon line. He would later serve as High Commissioner in Egypt and as Chief Commissioner of Balochistan.

Tashi Namgyal

(26th October 1893-2nd December 1963)

Eleventh Chogyal of Sikkim. He succeeded his half brother Sidkyong Tulku who had ruled until December 1914. He would be recognised in a small ceremony on the 19th February 1915, and would fully succeed to the *gadi* in a ceremony presided over by Barmiak Lama on 15th May 1916. In Bell's last act as Political Officer Sikkim he would hand full constitutional rights back to Tashi Namgyal in 1918. During his reign he looked to promote stronger ties between Sikkim, Tibet and India and was a strong advocate for closer links with India. He married Kunzang Dechen, and they had three sons and three daughters together.

Colonel Netö

(1886 – after 1933)

Gyantse Magistrate. Personal name Tsewang Namse. He owned a small estate near Gyantse, and his elder brother was the steward of the Changlo estate, which housed the British Trade Agency at Gyantse. He was appointed Eastern Dzongpen of Gyantse in February 1917 and served in the Tibetan army in Kham. In 1920, he acted as Bell's lay guide in Lhasa and escorted him into Lhasa from Gyantse. He was promoted to the rank of Depon (General) in 1922 as a result. But before 1933 he had been degraded and held no rank. The British recorded in 1933 that he was in Lhasa, but 'more or less interned'.

Thubten Chökyi Nyima

(1883-1937)

Ninth Panchen Lama and head of Tashi Lhünpo monastery in Shigatse. In the early years of the twentieth century, the Panchen Lama was courted by the British Indian government. As the Dalai Lama had rebuffed the diplomatic advances of the British attention turned to the Panchen as a possible British ally and a future temporal ruler of southern Tibet. In late 1905 the Panchen Lama travelled to Calcutta on the invitation of the Viceroy of India, included in his entourage was Laden La, Thutob Namgyal and Yeshe Dolma and his British India escort, F W O'Connor and John Claude White. In a return visit Charles Bell visited Shigatse in late 1906. Following the unexpected arrival of the

Dalai Lama in 1910 and the relationship that developed, the Panchen Lama was increasingly side-lined and the relationship between the respective courts of the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas also soured, as the Panchen Lama accepted the request of the Qing Amban to travel to Lhasa. The relationships between the respective Lama's advisors became increasingly strained and following taxes imposed on Tashi Lhünpo by Lhasa the Panchen Lama fled to first Mongolia and then China. Despite discussions with the Lhasa government and then a possible move to return to Tashi Lhünpo, the Panchen Lama died in exile in 1937.

Kumar W Palden

(active 1901 – 1918)

Eldest son of Raja Tenduk Palger, he would on the death of his father take over the Cheebu Lama estate. He would work with Bell on the Kalimpong Survey and in 1918 he would be made the Chogyal's Judicial Secretary.

Raja Tenduk Palger

(d.1902)

He was born into a Lepcha family and became the manager of Cheebu Lama's (Sikkim's Vakil to Darjeeling in 1850s and guide used by the Schlagintweit brothers) estates at a young age. He was made Revenue Collector of Kalimpong estate in 1879 and Honorary Magistrate of Darjeeling in 1885; he worked for the British India intelligence department during the border skirmishes with Tibet in Sikkim in 1888-89 for which he was awarded the title of Raja in the New Years Honours of 1889. On his retirement he received a pension and a land grant from the British.

Rai Bahadur Achuk Tsering

(1877-11th December 1920)

Personal Assistant and Confidential Clerk to Bell. Born into an estate owning Bhutia family in western Sikkim, Achuk Tsering's family were connected to the British through the 1888 Sikkim military campaign. He would be educated at Darjeeling's Bhutia Boarding School and gain employment in a British India Darjeeling office. Sometime from 1902-04 he would be employed by Bell. He would work with Bell on the Ammo Chu survey in 1904, and would act as Personal Assistant/Interpreter during the Punakha Treaty Mission 1910, the Delhi Durbar 1911, the Simla conference in 1913-14 and he would accompany Bell on several annual tours of southern Tibet. His final mission would be to Lhasa in

November 1920 as Bell's Confidential Clerk, where he would die shortly after arriving.

Laurence Austine Waddell

(29th May 1854 – 1938)

IMS. CSI. CIE. Originally trained as a surgeon and chemist at Glasgow University and following his training joined the British army and became an officer for the Indian Medical Service. He was stationed in and worked on campaigns in Burma and India and undertook archaeological surveys that resulted in the mapping of several important Buddhist sites. In 1888 he was appointed Principal Medical Officer and Deputy Sanitary Commissioner for the Darjeeling area. It was from here that he was able to travel in Tibetan cultural areas, including Sikkim and the borders of Nepal and Tibet, he wrote several articles and books including, *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (1895), began collecting objects (including a complete Tibetan *lhakang* or chapel) and Tibetan manuscripts, he also learned Tibetan. In 1903 he was appointed to the dual role of Mission Collector and Medical Officer to the Younghusband punitive expedition. The collecting and looting undertaken was on an enormous scale and several hundred mules loaded with crates of objects and manuscripts made their way over the Himalaya to Calcutta's Indian Museum, where Waddell's assistant David Macdonald catalogued the collection. Shortly after, he returned to England and became Professor of Tibetan at University College London, but retired soon after to write. Following his retirement Waddell turned his attentions to Sumeria and the Near East.

Ernest Herbert Cooper Walsh

(7th March 1865-1952)

CSI. Walsh joined the ICS in 1884 and by 1900 he was serving as District Magistrate in Darjeeling, where he would give Bell his first Himalayan posting, in the following year 1901 he would be promoted to the Post of Deputy Commissioner for Darjeeling. He would take part in the Younghusband punitive expedition with Laden La as his assistant and interpreter. Following the expedition he would write several articles on Tibetan and Himalayan material culture and numismatics particularly. He would receive a copy of a medical *thangka* from Waddell allowing him to write his most well known article in 1910. On his retirement from the ICS he would go on to be Lecturer in Tibetan at the School of Oriental Studies, later

SOAS and in Bengali at the University of Oxford. He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1907, a member of the Asiatic Society in Bengal and he also served as both Vice-President and President of the Orissa and Bihar Research Society.

William Woodville Rockhill

(1st May 1854 – 8th December 1914)

Diplomat, Tibetologist and scholar. Having become interested in Tibet from an early age and after a short career in the French Foreign Legion he turned his attention to studying Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese. He took up a position in the US Legation in Peking (Beijing) in 1883 and from there undertook trips to Tibetan and Mongolian cultural areas. Following a series of diplomatic postings he returned to China as US Minister in 1905 and during this period (1908) he travelled to Wutai Shan to meet with the thirteenth Dalai Lama. He wrote several influential books including *The Land of the Lamas* (1891).

Dewan Bahadur Phalha se Sonam Wangyal 'Palhese',

(c.1870-c.1936)

Personal Assistant to Bell. Palhese belonged to one of the influential *midrak* families, the Phalhas who had strong monastic ties to the Drongtse and Tashi Lhunpo monasteries. His father was the *Depon* or General of Drongtse. His mother allowed Das to accompany her and her two sons (including Palhese) to Lhasa, and he visited the Phalha family home there called Bangyeshar. Palhese's immediate family was severely punished for giving Das assistance and by 1903 Palhese was in exile in Kalimpong. It is here that Bell and Palhese met forming a life-long bond. Palhese worked exclusively for Bell for almost twenty years, guiding him in every aspect of Tibetan politics and etiquette. He travelled with him on several tours of southern Tibet and to Lhasa for the 1920-21 Mission. Palhese would travel to England in 1927-28 to work with Bell on his forthcoming publications for which he gained a Tibetan passport. While there he travelled across England and Scotland and Palhese was also tasked by the Dalai Lama with exploring Tibet's inclusion in the League of Nations. Palhese would see Bell again between 1933-35, when Bell returned to north-eastern India and southern Tibet. By now Palhese was married with a small baby son. He died sometime in the spring or summer of 1936, and shortly after Bell began to make regular

payments via Hugh Richardson to Palhese's widow for the upkeep of Palhese's still young son.

Paljor Dorje Shatra

(1860-2nd January 1919)

Shatra was head of the Shatra family and one of the Lönchens (Chief Ministers) of Tibet. He was born into the Shang-ga family, but married into the Shatra family and took the name. He had a long and eventful career, which began when he accompanied the Chinese Amban to Darjeeling in 1890, staying with him during the progress of the negotiations regarding the Anglo-Chinese-Tibet Convention, for his efforts he was rewarded with the title of Shapé. Having been willing to negotiate with the Younghusband expedition in 1904 he was degraded by the Dalai Lama and sent to his country estate. In 1908 the Dalai Lama appointed Shatra, Shokhang and Tekang as Lönchens and following the invasion by Chinese troops of Lhasa in 1910 he accompanied the Dalai Lama to India, going with him to meet Lord Minto at Hastings House, Calcutta, and on pilgrimage to sacred sites in India. During his exile in India, he became well-acquainted with Charles Bell and the two developed a strong and affectionate friendship. This friendship flourished when in 1913-14 Shatra returned to India to act as Tibetan plenipotentiary during the Simla conference, he proved himself to be an adept diplomat and political thinker and as a result he became the most powerful of the Lönchens. He met Bell on several occasions following the Simla conference, most notably in 1915, during Bell's annual inspection trip of southern Tibet.

Dondrup Phuntsog Shokhang

(c.1862-1925)

One of the three Chief Ministers or Lönchens of Tibet. Due to his willingness to negotiate with the British in 1903-04, he, Tekang and Shatra (who were all Shapés) were demoted and sent to their respective family estates by the Dalai Lama. In 1907 the Chinese envoy, Chang Yin Tang recalled him to Lhasa to act as the Advisor to the National Assembly in the Dalai Lama's absence. On the Dalai Lama's return to Lhasa in 1909 he was appointed Chief Minister and would follow the Dalai Lama into exile in British India in 1910. He would be present at the meeting with the Viceroy in March 1910.

Khyenrab Changchub Palsang Tekang

(d. 1920)

One of the three Chief Ministers or Lönchens of Tibet. As with his colleagues, due to his willingness to negotiate with the British in 1903-04, he, Shokhang and Shatra (who were all Shapés) were demoted and sent to their respective family estates by the Dalai Lama. In 1907 the Chinese envoy, Chang Yin Tang recalled him to Lhasa and appointed him Chief Minister or Lönchen in the Dalai Lama's absence. On the Dalai Lama's return to Lhasa in 1909 he would return to favour and subsequently follow the Dalai Lama into exile in British India in 1910. He would be present at the meeting with the Viceroy in March 1910.

Jampa Thubwang

(1863-1922)

Lamen Khenpo and *Chikyab Kenpo*. Brother of Khyenrab Changchub Palzang Tekang. He acted as the thirteenth Dalai Lama's medical and confidential advisor who would travel with the Dalai Lama into exile first in Mongolia and China from 1904-09 and then to British India in 1910-12. He had connections with the Buryat monk and Russian go-between Dorzhiev and he also encourage relations with the Buddhist community in Japan having sent a Sera monastery monk to Japan to work with Bumkio Aoki, a Japanese priest who had spent several years in Tibet and he sponsored Token Tada who was living in the Sera Monastery. Bell grew to know Lamen Khenpo well and corresponded with him after he returned to Tibet and the two would meet again in Lhasa during Bell's mission in 1920-21. He was appointed as *Chikyab Khenpo* or High Chamberlain to the Dalai Lama in 1913 and was not only the senior monk official in Tibet, but a well respected doctor.

Kazi Dawa Samdup

(1868-1922)

Translator and Teacher. Having been one of the first students at the Darjeeling Bhutia Boarding School, taught by both Ugyen Gyatso and Das he would be selected for a British India position as Chief Interpreter for the Raj Shahi Division in southern Bhutan. In 1905 he would be recommended by Sidkyong Tulku as the new headmaster for the Gangtok branch of the Bhutia Boarding School. He would work extensively for the Chogyal of Sikkim, translating the 1908 History of Sikkim into English and acting as his interpreter at the Delhi Durbar of 1911. He would also be Lönchen Shatra's interpreter during the Simla conference. In addition he would work on a number of

translation projects with Bell. He is probably most well remembered for the translations he worked on for Evan-Wentz which made possible the publication of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* in English. He published his English-Tibetan dictionary in 1919, the same year he moved to Calcutta University to take up the post of Professor of Tibetan. The change in climate is said to have had a detrimental effect on his health and he died in Calcutta in 1922.

Alexandra David Neel

(24th October 1868 – 8th September 1969)

After a career as an opera singer, she arrived in India and travelled to Sikkim in 1912. There she would become a close confidant of Sidkyong Tulku and her Sikkim-based teachers would include Kazi Dawa Samdup and Barmiok Lama. In April 1912 with the intervention of Laden La she would go with Samdup for an audience with the Dalai Lama in Kalimpong. In the waiting room would be another covert traveller in Tibet, Ekai Kawaguchi. She would stay in Bell's Gangtok Residency while he was away in Simla in 1913. She spent an extended period, including a period of meditation in a cave in Lachen in northern Sikkim. Following the death of Sidkyong Tulku she made her first unauthorised trip into Tibet in 1916 to Shigatse with her 'adopted son' the Sikkimese man Yongden and she met the ninth Panchen Lama. In 1924 she and Yongden travel in disguise from China to Lhasa, making her the first western woman to enter the city. Having exhausted her funds she travelled on to Sikkim arriving at David Macdonald's door, he took her in and gave her money in order to continue her journey on to Sikkim. She would be recognised as a Tibetan scholar who published a long list of translations and publications.

Sir Herbert Hope Risley

(4th January 1851-30th September 1911)

KCIE, CSI. A British India administrator and anthropologist who undertook extensive ethnographic research across India and especially in Bengal. He is noted as being responsible for instituting the caste system in India following the 1901 census. He was the editor of the *Sikkim Gazetteer* of 1894, that Waddell and Macdonald so heavily contributed to and which the ninth Chogyal and the Maharani wrote the *History of Sikkim* in response to.

'Barmiok Lama', Barmiok Jedrung Karma Palden Chogyal

(1871 – 1942)

Described in Bell's *The List of Curios*. Barmiok Lama was an important monastic figure in Sikkim society in the early twentieth century who held a number of monastic positions in Sikkim. He was the first head lama of Simick monastery in southern Sikkim and the head lama of Ralong monastery. Together with these two roles he would also be appointed chief spiritual counsel for the Sikkim royal family and would sit on the Sikkim state council, as his father did, for at least one year (1917-18). He would follow the ninth Chogyal into exile during the periods of house arrest and oppression and would be noted as a person of interest by the British. He was in attendance at both the 1906 meeting of the ninth Panchen Lama and 1910 meeting of the thirteenth Dalai Lama with the respective Viceroys at Hasting House. And he would take extended teachings from prominent members of the *Karma Kagyu* school, with Alexandra David Neel noting that he became the fifteenth Karmapa's private secretary. We also see from the British records that by 1920 he is described as the 'Chief Lama of Sikkim' and is noted to be acting as an 'Inspector of Monasteries in Sikkim'. He was a *Nyingmapa* lama by reincarnation, while his prominent Lepcha family were *Kagyupas* and followers of the Karmapa. By 1933, the British recorded that he has retired from official duties due to ill health and in April 1942 he would die of heart failure.

Tsotra Namgyal

(1878 -1942)

Eldest son of the ninth Chögyal of Sikkim Thutob Namgyal and original heir to the throne. Also known as Gyalse Kusho. He escaped into exile with Lhasa Kusho when his parents were placed under house arrest in 1882 and despite repeated British attempts he refused to return. As a result White and British India stripped him of his right to succeed his father. He settled in the estate granted by the Dalai Lama in Taring [Tering], near Gyantse in Tibet with Lhasa Kusho. He was granted the title *Rimshi* a 4th Rank Tibetan Official. He would be granted the title of Raja by British India, becoming Raja Taring [Rajah Tering] in 1922. His son Jigme Taring would become an important figure in the Tibetan army and later in Tibetan politics and foreign affairs.

Ugyen Wangchuk

(1862 – 7th August 1926)

GCIE, KCIE, 1st Gongsa or Monarch of Bhutan (1907-1926). Having inherited the title of Penlop or Governor of Tsongsa from his father he overcame his political opponents and survived a series of internal wars to emerge as the most power leader in Bhutan in the late 1880s. He would act as a mediator between the British and the Tibetans during the Younghusband punitive expedition and for his efforts on behalf of the British he would be awarded a Knighthood in 1905. He would be part of the entourage that would be present at the meeting between the ninth Panchen Lama and the Viceroy of India in 1905-06 and in 1907 White would make a mission to Bhutan to recognise him as the new monarch of Bhutan. In 1910 he would preside over the signing of the Punakha Treaty with British India's Charles Bell and the following year he would be invited to the Delhi Durbar. He would receive a further Knighthood in 1921. After Bell's retirement he would continue to maintain Bhutan's relations with British India forming a good relationship with the Bailey's.

Sir Henry Robert Conway Dobbs

(26th August 1871 – 30th May 1934)

CIE, CSI, KCIE, KCSI, KCMG, GBE. British India administrator. Although Dobbs would spend most of his working life serving the Political Department in Iraq or the North-west Frontier, in 1919 he was posted to Simla and served as the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India for a year. It was during this posting that he would meet Bell and he would discuss the possible candidates for the Lhasa Mission with him.

Lieutenant Colonel Sir William Frederick Travers O'Connor

(30th July 1870 -14th December 1943)

CSI CIE CVO. British Trade Agent, diplomatic link to the ninth Panchen Lama and secretary and interpreter during the Younghusband Punitive expedition. Born into a family of Irish landowners, he studied at Charterhouse and the Military Academy in Woolwich. Arrived in India in 1895 and his army career included serving in the North-west frontier, but significantly his posting in the artillery regiment at Darjeeling, opened his eyes to the potential strategic importance of this borderland and he began to learn Tibetan. Having fluent Tibetan he was appointed as Younghusband's secretary and interpreter during the punitive expedition and he

would be the first man to be stationed as a British Trade Agent in Gyantse from 1904-1907. Of the reports he would write to government, he would co-author the phonetic translation of Tibetan words into English with Bell. He would promote and support the Panchen Lama's relationship with British India and act as his escort during his visit to the Viceroy in 1905-06. He would have a strained relationship with his superior White which would in the end lead to his leaving Gyantse. He would accompany Sidkyong Tulku on his world tour, but he would not return to a posting in Tibet, despite his name being mentioned to Bell as a possible candidate for the Lhasa Mission. He would go on to be Resident in Shiraz, Persia and then Resident in Nepal from 1918-1920. He would also write *Folk Tales from Tibet*.

Rabden Lepcha

(active from 1908-1921)

Bell's 'photographic orderly'. As his name suggests Rabden was from a Lepcha family, one of the indigenous peoples of Sikkim. It is likely that members of his family or village had served the Chogyal in the past. He had two sons, both of whom died, the last in 1915. He worked as a servant or orderly at the Gangtok Residency and during Bell's tenure he was selected and trained by Bell to take a considerable number of the photographs that had previously been attributed to Bell. Rabden Lepcha is now credited with taking some of the most iconic portraits of this particular period in Anglo-Tibetan relations.

August Hermann Francke

(5th November 1870- 16th February 1930)

Moravian Missionary and Tibetologist. Stationed in the Ladakhi stations of Leh, Kalatse and Kyelang. He was the most prolific of the Moravian Missionary scholars publishing over 150 papers and several books. He is particularly well known for his Bible translations and his linguistic and literary research.

Enchung

(active c.1915-c.1921)

An informant for David Macdonald who worked as a travelling curio seller between Lhasa, Chumbi valley and the frontier towns of north-eastern India. He would also be involved in a translation project for Bell in 1920.

Lieutenant Colonel Robert Siggins Kennedy

(8th December 1882 -)

IMS. Born in Ireland, he would complete his medical training in Cork. He would accompany Bell to Bhutan for the Punakha Treaty signing in 1910. He travelled to and photographed areas in Tawang and Assam in 1913-14 to conduct a survey. Served in the First World War and he received a distinction for his service in East Africa in 1918. He had been stationed at Gyantse for several years and in 1920 he again accompany Bell as Medical Officer, this time to Lhasa.

Alexander Frederick Richmond ‘Sandy’ Wollaston

(1875- 3rd June 1930)

Member of the 1921 reconnaissance team to Everest. Having turned away from a medical career he turned to natural sciences and exploration. Having undertaken a number of expeditions he was chosen to act as doctor, ornithologist and botanist during the first reconnaissance mission to Everest after Bell had secured permission for the attempt from the Dalai Lama. He became a well respected lecturer at King’s College Cambridge, but Bell was unimpressed with his reflections on Tibetan people as he sat in the audience of his talk shortly after he return to England from the Himalayas in 1922. Shockingly, he would be shot dead by a student in his rooms in King’s in 1930.

Alexander Watson

(active 1920s)

Performer. Created a one man show that played to packed houses across the UK, Australia and New Zealand. His specialism was the dramatisation of recitals and poems. Bell turned to him in 1922 in the hope that he could help him improve on his presentation skills, before he embarked on his own lecture programme.

Sir Robert Erskine Holland

(1873-1965)

KCIE, CIE, CSI, CVO, VD, MA. With an education from Winchester and Oxford and a brief career in law he joined the India Civil Service in 1898. He served in several Political Officer posts and on the North-west frontier, including as Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara. He stayed in and then came to retire in Oak Bay and was a close neighbour of Bell’s from 1942. Despite the two men having very different views on the rights of Indian Princes to rule, Bell asked him to read for comment,

Portrait of a Dalai Lama, which he notes in his acknowledgements.

Chapter 2

Major William Lachen Campbell

(1880-1937)

Having served in the Younghusband punitive expedition Campbell took over from Bell as Assistant Political Officer Chumbi Valley in November 1905 and would become the first British Trade Agent Yatung from 1906-08. He accompanied White to Bhutan in 1907. He would return to Tibet in 1916 as British Trade Agent Gyantse and he would eventually take over from Bell as Political Officer Sikkim in 1918. It was his unexpected resignation in 1920 that allowed Bell to return. Campbell had good Chinese and Tibetan linguist skills and he collected Tibetan manuscripts, he gave several to Evan-Wentz including a block print copy of the Book of the Dead or *Bardo Tödröl*. He would also work with Dawa Samdup continuing the translation work he had undertaken with Bell on *Milarepa*.

Sir Leonard William Reynolds

(1874-1946)

British India administrator. As the Deputy Secretary of State he and Bell would regularly correspond on matters relating to diplomatic gifts. He would also be heavily involved in the etiquette and organisation of the meetings of the three parties involved in the Simla conference in 1913-14.

Chen Ifan

(active 1913-14)

Better known in the UK as Ivan Chen, the Chinese plenipotentiary for the Simla conference of 1913-14. He had been a barrister of Lincoln Inn, London and then Interpreter and subsequently Counsellor to the Chinese Legation in London. He returned to China and in 1913 he was working as the Foreign Affairs Commissioner for Jiangsu Province. He was shortly afterwards appointed as Special Commissioner for Chinese Affairs and was sent as China’s representative to the Simla conference, where Bell, Shatra, Dawa Samdup and Achuk Tsering would work with him. He would be rebuked by the Chinese government for his involvement, but would gain the post of Presidential Advisor.

Khan Sahib Faizulla

(active around 1920-21)

Leader of the Ladakhi community in Lhasa, who was present during Bell's Mission to Lhasa in 1920-21. He offered intelligence to Bell and Achuk Tsering on the movements of persons of interest.

Dr John Anderson Graham(8th September 1861 – 1942)

Although he missed a large part of his childhood education having to provide for his family following his father's early death, he took night classes at the age of 16 and became involved in the Church. He was an active and energetic member of the Church and despite his educational disadvantages he went to the University of Edinburgh in preparation for the ministry. In 1889 having been married to Katherine for just two days the couple would be sent to carry out missionary work in Kalimpong. He and Katherine would become prominent figures in Kalimpong, building the iconic McFarlane Memorial Church and establishing the St Andrew's Colonial Homes, which would become the Dr Graham Homes for the education of Anglo-India children. He and Bell would meet in 1901 and he would assist Bell during the Kalimpong survey, Bell would support Graham's educational efforts supporting the St Andrew Colonial Homes and later paying for a teacher's cottage in the grounds of Dr Graham's Home that would open in 1928 called Bell Cottage. He would also instigate the Kalimpong *Mela* a major agricultural fair that would bring Tibetan traders to the district; Bell bought several curios from the *Mela* for his collection.

Sengchen Lama

(d. June 1887)

Given name Lobsang Palden Choephel. Born in Drongtse, he was related by marriage to the Phalha *Lhacham* (Palhese's mother). He became head of the Ngagpa Tratsang [Tantric college] at Tashi Lhunpo, and, in 1881, Chief Minister [*skyabs-dbyings*] at the court of the fifth Panchen Lama. Having assisted and taught Das during his covert surveillance trip in 1882, he was executed by drowning on the orders of the Lhasa government.

Geshe Wangyal

(1901-1983)

Kalmyk monk who popularised the study of Tibetan Buddhism in the US. Given name

Ngawang Wangyal. Geshe Wangyal, born in Kalmykia, became a novice monk at the age six. After the Russian Civil War in 1918, he travelled to Lhasa, where he studied at Drepung's Gomang College. Alongside his studies in Drepung, Wangyal travelled extensively in Asia. In 1934-35, he had been recommended by Palhese as a guide for Bell's Mongolian and Manchuria tour. Wangyal travelled with Bell as his assistant, arranging meetings and acting as interpreter. After which he spent time in Beijing, editing the Kangyur and Tangyur Buddhist canons and also time in Vietnam working for a French diplomat. The funds he received during his travels went towards his and others' monastic training and to the completion of his *geshe* degree. When the Chinese invaded Tibet in the early 1950s, Wangyal escaped to Kalimpong, India. Then in 1955, he left for the United States to work amongst the Kalmyk Americans who had started to settle on the East Coast of the United States. This resulted in the establishment, in 1958, of Labsum Shedrub Ling, New Jersey (funded through his Columbia University teaching fees). He remained the monastery's head teacher until his death in January, 1983. Alongside the many exiles, he taught a growing number of Western students who had become interested in aspects of Tibetan Buddhism. This resulted in his teachings at Columbia University, New York from the late 1950s and in to the 1970s, and it was from there that he organised the visits of many exiled Tibetan monks and lamas, creating a wider network of teachers for the growing number of Buddhism students in the US. He taught several of today's leading Tibetologists, including Robert Thurman and Jeffrey Hopkins, who have in turn gone on to run their own successful graduate programmes in Tibetan Buddhism.

Dr Richard Othon Meisezahl

(1906-1992)

Tibetologist. Having been unable to fully focus his attentions on Tibetan studies due to the Second World War and financial constraints he was only able to turn his full attention to his studies after his retirement in 1965. His research focussed on the Tibetan language manuscript collections found across Europe, both in the translating and in the cataloguing of collections including amongst other museums and libraries Bern, Stuttgart, Liverpool, Mannheim, London, Antwerp and Paris. He would correspond with Elaine Tankard over the identity of 'Barmiak Lama'.

Barmiok Athing Tenzing Wangyal

(d.1926)

Father of Barmiok Lama. An influential Lepcha Kazi or Sikkim landlord, whose family name Densapa -which is used by the family today – refers to their forefathers serving as the Regent of Sikkim. Tenzing Wangyal was loyal to the Chogyals, serving as the ninth Chogyal's Chief Steward and as a Sikkim Council member. His family estates were in Barmiok, in southern Sikkim, hence the associated name.

Barmiok Athing Tashi Dadul Densapa

(1902-1988)

Half brother of Barmiok Lama, son of Barmiok Athing Tenzing Wangyal. One of Sikkim's Kazis or aristocratic landlords, whose family was loyal to the Chogyal. He was an important political and scholarly figure in Sikkim.

Yeshe Dolma

(1867-1910)

Maharani of Sikkim and the third wife of the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim and his brother Lhasa Kusho. She came from the Tibetan aristocratic family Lheding and she was seen as an intelligent and powerful woman who guided her husband, the ninth Chogyal, in his decision making. She was placed under house arrest with her husband in Kurseong, Darjeeling and Gangtok and fled into exile with him to Nepal while still nursing their new baby girl Rani Chonyi. She attended the 1906 meeting in Calcutta between the ninth Panchen Lama and the Viceroy and she is believed to have been the prime instigator in the writing of the 1908 *History of Sikkim*, a rebuttal to the biased account of Sikkim's history published by Risley in the *Sikkim Gazetteer*.

Chapter 3

Sir Basil Gould

(1883-1956)

CMG, CIE. Like Bell he went to Winchester and Oxford and then joined the Indian Civil Service in 1907. Within months of beginning his Himalayan career he would be appointed, along with Laden La as escort to the four Tibetan boys who would go to England for their education. He would be part of the entourage that meet George V in June. On his return he would return to the post of British Trade Agent Gyantse and would unofficially accompany the Dalai Lama on part of his return journey from exile to Lhasa. He would cover Bell's post as

Political Officer Sikkim while Bell was in Simla. He would go on to serve in senior positions in Afghanistan and the North-west Frontier before returning to the post of Political Officer Sikkim from 1935-1945. He would visit Lhasa in 1936 and again in 1940 when he would witness the installation of the fourteenth Dalai Lama. He would significantly write a testimony of the discovery of the new incarnation which he would have translated into Tibetan (by Rani Chonyi, friend of Bell's and sister to the tenth and eleventh Chogyals of Sikkim). He would send an English copy to Bell.

G Marshall

(active between 1910-1916)

Marshall as the Registrar for the *tosha khana* was based within the Treasury of the Foreign Department. He was an experienced Registrar with networks across the Foreign Department, curio trade and auction houses that operated in the metropolises of northern British India.

George Curzon

(11th January 1859 – 20th March 1925)

1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. KG, GCSI, GCIE, PC, Viceroy of India (1899-1905). Having entered politics in 1886 he took up the post of Under Secretary of State for India in 1891-92 and then Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1895-98. He also travelled across Asia including Central Asia and the North-west Frontier. In 1899 he was appointed as Viceroy of India paying particular attention to the northern frontiers of India. Having been slighted by the return of an unopened letter he had sent to the thirteenth Dalai Lama, he appointed Younghusband to form a mission to Tibet that would become the eponymously named punitive expedition.

Katherine Graham

(- 15th May 1919)

Kalimpong Missionary and wife of John Anderson Graham. Having travelled to Kalimpong with her husband in 1889, she within a few months began a girl's school that would become the Kalimpong Academy for Girls. She took a particular interest in women's education and training and in 1897 she began what would later be known as Kalimpong Arts & Crafts. Here she set up a training centre for local Lepcha and Nepalese women in the production of lace and weaving, which became highly sought after by the British. In order to help finance the operation she also developed

links with Tibetan traders selling Tibetan curios, including metalware and folding tables. She would also be responsible for the presence of Tibetan curios at the *Mela*.

Charles Hardinge

(20th June 1858 – 2nd August 1944)

1st Baron Hardinge of Penshurst. KG, GCB, GCSI, GCMG, GCIE, GCVO, ISO, PC and Viceroy of India. He joined the diplomatic services in 1880 and served in a number of high profile positions in Russia and Persia (Iran). He was appointed to the post of Viceroy of India in late 1910 and would oversee the 1911 Delhi Durbar. Despite an assassination attempt by Indian nationalists in 1912 (for which he would receive a condolence letter from General Zhong), he would stay in post and oversee the Simla conference, for which he would receive one of the largest and most wide-ranging gifts seen during this period from the Lhasa government. He would receive and collect a number of Chinese jades that came via Tibetan gifts. These can now be found in the Oriental Museum, Durham.

Jane (Jeannie) Fernie

(24th September 1877–4th August 1971)

Charles Bell's sister-in-law. Jane Fernie was born in Liverpool and went on to live at Raby Hall, Bromborough, on the Wirral, in the North-west of England. She travelled extensively across Asia and also to Africa, where she collected taxidermy specimens and Asian objects, which she displayed in her home. She never married. Her father was David Fernie, the owner of the Fernie Brothers Shipping company. She was the sister of Lady Cashie Bell and she visited Bell and Cashie in Sikkim in 1912-3, possibly to celebrate the birth of Bell and Cashie's first child, Arthur. She is mentioned in Bell's diaries and several colour photographs used by Bell in his publications are credited to her. She also travelled with her sister Cashie and Bell to China on a tour of the area in 1934, but she left the party before Cashie fell ill and died. Bell gave Fernie the robe originally presented by Shatra which was loaned to Liverpool Museum (now World Museum) for the Tibet exhibition of 1953 which was held at the Walker Art Gallery and is now in the museum's collection. Her collection was bequeathed to Liverpool Museum in 1971.

Dasang Damdul Tsarong

(1888 – 14th May 1959)

Commander in Chief of Tibet. Important figure in Tibetan modern history. Born into a farm worker's household in the Phenpo valley area. Around 1900 he began his training with a government monk official in Norbulingka, the Dalai Lama's summer palace. Following a surprise inspection visit by the Dalai Lama he was recruited to his personal staff. In 1904 having finished preparations at Norbulingka, he followed the Dalai Lama's into exile in Mongolia and became a trusted servant. He signed the Trade Regulations in Calcutta in April, 1908, on behalf of the Tibetan Government. In, 1910, he with a party of Tibetan soldiers, kept back a force of Chinese troops allowing the Dalai Lama to reach India. Afterwards he followed the Dalai Lama to India. Having followed the Lama into exile he would be sent in the autumn of 1911 to Shigatse where largely owing to him the Chinese Garrison was forced to surrender their arms and ammunition. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief early in 1912 and given the title of Dzasa in April of the same year. After his marriage in July, 1913, into the Tsarong family he was recognized as the heir of Tsarong and in 1914 he was appointed Shapé and became known as Tsarong Shapé. He visited India on pilgrimage in 1924 and due to political intrigue on his return he lost the post of Commander-in-Chief and in 1929 he was degraded from Shapé to the rank of Dzasa. He was however offered the post of Shapé again, but he refused to accept it. In July, 1934, he became one of the Managers of the Trapchi factory, although not active in government life he remained very influential. He was a popular (almost legendary) host for many of the British Missions who came to Lhasa in the 1930s and 40s. In November 1950, following the invasion of Chinese troops, the fourteenth Dalai Lama moved to Chumbi Valley, and Tsarong and his family followed. Tsarong returned to Lhasa as an advanced party following the 17 Point Agreement. The situation in Lhasa became increasingly tense and following the death of his wife, Pema Dolkar Tsarong he went on a pilgrimage travelling to Kalimpong and Nepal. In late 1958 against many people's advice he returned to Lhasa to organise a resistance to the Chinese forces. He was arrested in March 1959 and died in prison, hours before he was due to be publicly humiliated.

Percy Brown

(1872-1955)

Scholar, artist and curator. After studying at the Royal College of Art he joined the Indian Education Service in 1899. He was principle of the Mayo School of Art, in Lahore and curator of the Lahore Museum. In 1909 he moved to the Government School of Art in Calcutta and took on the role of Director at the Indian Museum. He and Bell would exchange correspondence on Himalayan arts and Bell would ask for advice on his Buddhist figures as would Macdonald who classed him as a good friend. He would retire in 1927 to return to England where he became secretary and curator at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Ekai Kawaguchi

(26th February 1866-24th February 1945)

Japanese Buddhist monk and explorer in Nepal and Tibet. Having arrived in India in 1897, he met Sarat Chandra Das, who arranged for him to meet the Mongolia Lama and astrologer Sherab Gyatso and later the Buriyat Shabdung Lama, whose given name was also Sherab Gyatso in Darjeeling. The two men would teach him Tibetan and he would live in the house of Shabdung Lama. He would illegally enter Tibet and undertake a four year long pilgrimage eventually reaching Lhasa where he would pose as a Chinese monk and gain an audience with the Dalai Lama. He would meet the Dalai Lama again in 1912 during the Lama's exile in Kalimpong. Waiting alongside him in Kalimpong for an audience would be Alexandra David-Neel and Laden La. He would return to Tibet for a further trip in 1913 before returning to Japan to live as an independent monk.

Kusho Doring

(1861-1937)

A Tibetan aristocrat based near Gyantse at the Gabshi estate. He was head of one of the most important families in central Tibet. The family's name originated from their mansion in Lhasa that was situated near to the famous *doring* or pillar that holds the Tibet-China treaty inscription. The family had a large country estate near Gyantse, next to which was a carpet factory that Bell describes in his diary. Being from such a prominent family, Doring should have held a high government position, but he was implicated in the Tengyeling affair, which resulted in him being barred from holding public office and resulted in the confiscation of a family estate near Lhasa. Bell stayed with Kusho (or Sir)

Doring and his wife on several occasions during annual inspection tours of the Gyantse area, including in September 1915 and 1917 and again in September 1920, when awaiting confirmation to travel to Lhasa. Bell also met with the family in October 1934, when he was on his way back to Kalimpong, after an unsuccessful attempt to travel to Lhasa and before travelling on to Mongolia.

Doring Theji

(1899 – after 1959)

Son of Doring Kusho and a Tibetan Official. Began his government service in 1917 and received military training at Gyantse in 1918, which his parents begged Bell to help him get out of. In 1930 his Theji title was removed and he was demoted to a 6th Rank official for his part in the political intrigue that had engulfed Lhasa. In 1934 he was promoted to the 4th Rank and was sent to Eastern Tibet to meet the Panchen Lama in 1934, he returned, after the Panchen Lama's death, in 1938. He was placed in charge of the Dalai Lama's personal property after the thirteenth's death in 1934, returning it to the fourteenth in 1946.

Kusho Phalha

(1869-1918)

Elder brother of Palhese. From the age of thirteen to seventeen he attended Lhasa's, Yule caging school and from there he was posted to the Lhasa government's Finance Office where he received on the job training. His first posting was as Dzongpön of Sheka, although he remained in Lhasa and during this time he married a daughter of the Namseling family. At 20 his parents were punished for their involvement in the Das affair, but this did not seem to harm his own career significantly as he was appointed a fifth rank judge at the age of 23. By the age of 33 he was appointed to the increasingly influential post of 'Grain Paymaster' (Dru Popön) for Tsang with his head quarters now in Gyantse. In June 1913 Kusho Phalha was appointed as one of three Financial Secretaries (Tsepon) and after three years in Lhasa he was deputed as a general assistant to the Kalön Lama, the head of the administration in eastern Tibet. He suffered from gout and rheumatism, and he died at the early age of forty-nine, when there was the growing possibility that he would be promoted to the high position of a member of the Supreme Council. Bell and Kusho Phalha were well

acquainted and Kusho Phalha sourced several objects for Bell's collection.

Phalha Kenchen

(1865-1925)

Uncle of Palhese. Given name, Phalha Jedrung Jampa Choegyan. He would be one of the party that travelled to Darjeeling via Phari in June 1910, asking the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet. He would go on to become one of the most influential monk officials during the time of the Dalai Lama, and was appointed *Chikyab Khenpo* or Lord Chamberlain in 1922. He met with Bell on several occasions during Bell's annual tours of southern Tibet and again when Bell was in Lhasa in 1920-21.

Chapter 4

Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler

(1st August 1869 – 2nd March 1938)

GCSI, GCIE, KStJ. Colonial administrator in British India. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1890 working in the North-west Province. In 1907 he was appointed as the Foreign Secretary for the British India government and he would be instrumental in bringing together the Political Officers Manual for encounters with Ruling Chiefs. He would also be involved in the Dalai Lama's arrival into exile and the meeting and gift exchange between the Dalai Lama and the Viceroy. He would leave his post as Foreign Secretary in 1910 to take charge of a new Education department.

Argvan Dorzhiev

(1854—1938)

Buryat monk who became a confidant of the Dalai Lama and a supporter of the Russian empire. He went to Tibet at nineteen to study at Gomang College in Dreprung, a philosophical college with a high percentage of monks from Amdo (north-eastern Tibet) and Mongolia. He would gain the high degree of *Ngawang Lobsang*. He would become a debating partner of the Dalai Lama and in turn a close confidant. He would promote the idea of Russian diplomacy to the Dalai Lama and as a result he would make two diplomatic visits to Russia and the Tsar. He would cause the British great concern and it was thought by them that he was a Russian spy. After the Dalai Lama's exile in British India he would come to meet the Dalai Lama and escort him to Samding monastery, David Macdonald would meet him, the event recorded in a photograph.

Gilbert John Elliot Murray Kynynmound

(9th July 1845 – 1 March 1914)

KG, GCSI, GCMG, GCIE PC. 4th Earl of Minto and Viceroy of India. Having left Eton he embarked on a varied career that coupled military action with colonial administration. He was Governor General of Canada from 1898-1904. He would take over from Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India in 1905 and would meet and receive gifts from both the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama on their respective visits to Calcutta.

Arthur Roylance Jelf

(1875 – died before 1941)

ICS. From Eton he went to King's College Cambridge and gained a BA, he then joined the Indian Civil Service in 1898, arriving in India in 1899. He was posted to the North-west Frontier as the Assistant to the Chief Commissioner and was in this region until at least 1903. In 1910 he was Under Secretary in the Foreign Department and would be closely involved in the gifting and protocols that accompanied the Dalai Lama's visit to Calcutta. From 1924-25 he was posted as the Political Officer for Bhopal.

Lieutenant Colonel Sir Alexander Fleetwood Pinhey

(10th July 1861 -7th April 1916)

CIE. Entered the army as Lieutenant in the Liverpool Regiment in 1882 and transferred to the Indian Staff Corps in 1883 rising to the post of Major before moving to the Political Department in 1886. At the age of 29 he became Resident in Mewar (Udaipur, Rajasthan, India). He held a succession of Resident postings including Hyderabad, Ajmer-Merwara and Gwalior. In 1910 he was the Private Secretary to the Viceroy where we find him trying to make sense of a white Tibetan scarf and what its presentation meant.

Sir Edward Norman Baker

(1857-1956)

KCSI. Lieutenant Governor of Bengal from 1908-1911 and was in post during the visit of the thirteenth Dalai Lama to Calcutta in March 1910. He would keep the gifts he was given during that visit. He had been the Financial Secretary for the British India government from 1902-05.

Lungshar Dorje Tsegyal

(1880-1938)

Tibetan lay official. He was the son of a Major or *Rupön* in the Tibetan Army. In 1913 when a sixth rank in the Accountant-General's Office in Lhasa, he was chosen by the thirteenth Dalai Lama to take four Tibetan students to England for schooling and was promoted to the 4th rank before leaving Tibet for England. As chaperone to the boys he first visited various British Indian officials in India, before travelling to England. Almost immediately he began to cause diplomatic problems for the British, organising clandestine meetings and expressing a strong desire to visit other European countries and the US (he did visit France, Germany, Holland and Belgium). The British were keen for him to return to Tibet, but not before he and the four boys were received by King George V and Queen Mary on 28 June 1913, where he presented letters and presents from the Dalai Lama to Their Majesties. He left for Tibet on the 13 September, 1914. On his return he was promoted to the position of Tsepon (Financial Secretary) and spent some months working in Shigatse in 1919 on the financial arrangements between Lhasa and Tashi Lhunpo. In addition to his Tsepon posting, he was appointed as Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan army in 1925, succeeding (and at the expense of) Tsarong Shapé, although he lost this post in 1931. Following the death of the thirteenth Dalai Lama and the sidelining and occasion smearing of his main rivals, Lungshar brought together a group of like-minded and discontented officials in a bid to overthrow the *Kashag* (Governing Council). He was betrayed by a member of his own group and in 1934 he was arrested on the charge of conspiring to overturn the existing government in the hope of seizing power for himself. He was found guilty, blinded and imprisoned in the Potala. He died in 1938.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Dunlop Smith
(1858-1921)

KCSI, KCVO, CIE. An Indian army officer who became the personal secretary to Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India. He returned to England and was posted to the India Office, where in 1913 he became heavily involved in the gifting and ceremonies surrounding the audience with George V for Lungshar, the four Tibetan boys, Basil Gould and Laden La.

Token Tada
(1913-1965)

Japanese Buddhist Monk. He was in Lhasa staying at Sera monastery between 1913 - 23. He

became a close confidant of the Dalai Lama who spent considerable amounts of time with him. He would publish a book in 1965 *The Thirteenth Dalai Lama* that gave an account of his time there.

Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhondup

(d.1947)

OBE, CBE. Born in Kalimpong and schooled in Darjeeling he would go on to be confidential clerk for David Macdonald in Gyantse. When Achuk Tsering died in Lhasa in 1920 he and Macdonald would travel to Lhasa and while Macdonald went home Dhondup joined the mission party. From then on he would organise and make regular visits to Lhasa with Bell's successors. The thirteenth Dalai Lama would award him the title of *Depön* or General in 1927. He would work for the Gangtok Agency for thirty years, becoming one of the most trusted and knowledgeable officers in the British India Himalaya. He would become Gould's Confidential Clerk for his 1936 Mission and in 1940 he would present the gifts given by British India to the fourteenth Dalai Lama.

Chapter 5

Khan Sahib Haji Ghulam Mohammed

(active 1913-1915)

The leading Ladakhi merchant in Lhasa (possibly a predecessor of Khan Sahib Faizulla), who travelled between Lhasa, Chumbi valley, the frontier towns of British India and Ladakh. He presented Bell with a shrine in November 1913. He was obviously known to the British for sometime before 1913 as he was awarded the title of Khan Sahib in June 1913.

Lienyu

(active 1906-1913)

Last Manchu Amban from the Qing government in Lhasa from 1906-1911. He would witness the brief return of the Dalai Lama from China, the arrival of Qing forces into Lhasa in 1910 and the collapse of the Qing empire. He would visit Macdonald in Yatung on his way out of Tibet in 1913.

General Zhong Ying

(1890-1915)

Qing government general who led 2,000 troops into Lhasa in 1910. Having been undermined and held back by the Qing Amban Lienyu after his arrival in Lhasa, he would join the rebels on the fall of the empire and become the Republic's

first commissioner of Tibet. He would be forced to surrender arms and leave Tibet in 1913, visiting Macdonald in Yatung on his way. Bell would be given Chinese objects by him as he left. Back in China his old adversary Lienyu would testify against him regarding the Lhasa battles and he would be executed in 1915 at the age of 25.

Lieutenant Colonel Sir Richard Henry Chenevix Trench

(1876-1954)

CIE, OBE. Military officer and colonial administrator. Having fought in the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, he went on to gain the title of Lieutenant Colonel in the Indian Army. He would go on to serve in British India's Foreign Department as Under-Secretary. During 1912-1916 he would have contact with Bell with regards to gift exchanges and the silver tray from the Younghusband expedition.

Cashie Rongnye Fernie Bell

(19th February 1915-22nd November 2004)

Eldest daughter of Bell. Rongnye as she was known, appears to have been named after the valley below the Gangtok Residency. She lived at the Gangtok Residency with her parents, until their retirement to England. She accompanied her father and Palhese on several visits during Palhese's stay in England and between 1933-35. She accompanied her father on his trip to north-eastern India, southern Tibet, China (where her mother died), Japan, Manchuria and Mongolia.

Ali Muhamad Yaaquob

(c.1852 - 1921)

Simla-based curio and precious stone dealer and purportedly magician/occultist who also operated from Calcutta and Bombay. He was the inspiration for Lurgan Sahib in Kipling's *Kim*. Mr A M Jacob as he was known was described in 1897 as either an Egyptian or Armenian man who circulated in high British and Indian society. He was at the centre of a diamond scandal in 1894 that involved the selling of an inferior diamond to the Nizam of Hyderabad and by 1895 he had decided to move from Simla selling off a portion of his business, which allowed Schwaiger to replace him (they had previously bought and sold from each other). He would then work from Calcutta (which is likely where Marshall contacted him regarding the saddle) and Bombay. After another diamond scandal with the Nizam of

Hyderabad and a court case he died in penury in 1921.

Imre Schwaiger

(1868-1940)

The influential Hungarian art dealer and collector who had agents and shops in London, Delhi, Calcutta and Simla. He would act as a jewel guide to Jacques Cartier and he would also look after Cartier's interests in Delhi. He organised the first exhibition of Nepalese bronzes in Calcutta in 1912 and many pieces from the V&A's Mughal collection came via him. He would present a collection of objects from Japan, India, Nepal and Tibet to the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts in Budapest in 1936 after discussions with the first Director of the museum Zoltan Felvinczi Takacs during a study tour of East Asia. The Registrar of British India's *tosha khana* Marshall would go to him for several valuations.

List of Curios

Netuk Lepcha

(1870- After 1929)

Lepcha orderly at the Gangtok Residency during Bell's tenure. Bell admired him greatly for his strong presence, leadership qualities and his down to earth, honest attitude. He would travel with Bell on many of his major tours and Missions including the Punakha Treaty Mission to Bhutan. He would also provide Bell with information on a small number of his curios. There are several photographs of Netuk in private and public collections.

Künsangtse

(c.1875 -)

Tibetan Official. He was made a Dzasa by the Dalai Lama in 1908. He accompanied Sechung Shapé to Calcutta in 1908 to pay the first instalment of the Tibetan indemnity due to the Government of India following the Younghusband expedition. In 1910 he followed the Dalai Lama to India and remained at Darjeeling until July 1911. He met the Dalai Lama at Phari in July 1912, and was then appointed Special Officer for Political Work. Appointed Shapé in 1914. In August, 1919, he was deputed to meet the Political Officer Sikkim (Campbell) at Gyantse. He was demoted and derobed in March 1921 for disobeying orders, with the story of the derobing retold by Bell.

Yabshi Phünkang Kung

(1888 – After 1948)

Tibetan aristocratic and official. Given name Tashi Dorje. His titles show that his family was related to a previous Dalai Lama (eleventh). He was appointed as a Kalön in 1938, but having been implicated in the Reting Rinpoche attempted coup he was dismissed and imprisoned in 1946. He was cleared of all charges in 1948 and his titles were reinstated. Palhese and he were well known to each other as Palhese sold to Bell a teapot that had belonged to him during his visit to England in 1927.

Sergeant W H Luff

(d.1942)

Telegraph Sergeant based at Gnatong in Sikkim. Jointly the longest serving British man in Tibet. Having served in the Younghusband punitive expedition Luff remained in Tibet and would be most well known for opening the door to the Dalai Lama and the Tibet party who had fled there in exile. After retiring from his post in Tibet he had a short career as a gardener at the Gangtok Residency during Weir's tenure. He died in Darjeeling in 1942.

Shesur

(1896-1967)

Tibetan official, son of Lönchen Shatra. Given name Gyurme Tobgye. He didn't come into government service until he acted as Bell's secular guide in 1921. He also gifted items to Bell during this time. He had originally wanted to be a monk and to try for the post of Ganden Tipa, but his father wanted him to become an official. His first official appointment came in 1938 as Garpön of Western Tibet, then as a Depön in 1949 and a Shapé in 1950.

Pasang

(After 1870 –After 1934)

A Lepcha man who worked in the Gangtok Residency. Pasang was Bell's camp bearer and he travelled with Bell on all his major tours and Missions including the Punakha Treaty, his annual tours of southern Tibet and his Mission to Lhasa. Along with Palhese he would wave Bell off at the dockside as he left India for the last time in 1934. There are several photographs of Pasang in private collections.

Dr John Charles Dyer

(active 1920-1928)

Anglo-India doctor who was the resident surgeon at Gangtok from 1922-1928. He accompanied Bell to Lhasa in 1920, returning to Gangtok on Colonel Kennedy's arrival. Kennedy described him as a good GP for his class, referring to his Anglo-India status.

Ngarpö Shapé

(unknown)

Tibetan official. He is noted in Bell's 1921 diary as a new Shapé or government officer. He was described as a relative of Palhese.

Kusho Surkhang

(1889-)

Tibetan aristocrat and official. Personal name Samdup Tseten. Father of Dorje Yudon Yuthok author of *House of the Turquoise Roof* and Wangchen Delek who would become an important figure in Tibetan politics in the 1940s and 1950s.

Purbu Lepcha

(active 1909 – 1921)

Lepcha orderly at the Gangtok Residency during Bell's tenure. There is a possibility that he was also at the Residency during White's tenure. He would travel with Bell on many of his major tours and Missions including the Punakha Treaty Mission to Bhutan and the Lhasa Mission of 1920-21, where he sits with Rabden Lepcha at the front of the mission photograph. He would also provide Bell with information on a small number of his curios.

Babu Tashi Tsering

(active 1913-1921)

He was one of Bell's trusted assistants at the Gangtok Residency. He gave information and descriptions for several of Bell's curios. He would also travel with Bell to Lhasa in 1920-21 and is included in the Lhasa Mission photograph.

Rai Sahib Gyaltsen Kazi

(b.1883 -)

He was from one of the leading families in Sikkim, the Tsugshing-Athing family. At the age of 19 he served as an interpreter on the Younghusband punitive expedition of 1903-04, receiving the Tibet medal for his efforts. In 1906, he escorted Sidkyong Tulku to England, while he undertook his studies there and on his return in 1907 he was given a post in the office of the Gangtok Residency. Alongside this he held the post of Private Secretary to Sidkyong

Tulku. He later served as Tashi Namgyal's (the 11th Chogyal) Judicial Secretary. Alongside his administrative work, he undertook more challenging duties, accompanying the Everest reconnaissance team of 1921 and he was also a part of F M 'Eric' Bailey's entourage, who travelled from Yatung, in the Chumbi Valley to Bumthang in Bhutan to present the King of Bhutan, Ugyen Wangchuk with his GCIE between June - July 1922.

**Rai Sahib Lachminarain [Laksminarayan]
Pradhan**

(active 1908-1915)

Son of the first Newar settler in Sikkim, Laksmidas Pradhan and subsequently a powerful landlord himself holding landed estates in Pendam and Rigu. He attended the 1911 Delhi Durbar as part of the Chogyal's entourage and he was awarded the title of Rai Sahib by the Government of India in June 1908 and appointed to a seat on the State Council of Sikkim in April 1915.

Appendix 3

Bell's Publication List

Published Works

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*Second editions of the *Manual of Tibet*, but this time the volumes were published as separate editions.

Appendix 4

Bell's CV

1870	Born 31st October in Calcutta to Henry and Anne Bell.
1884	Sent to Winchester College as a scholar
1888	Passed his ICS examination at the age of eighteen
1889	Graduated from Winchester College in 1889
1889-1891	Attended New College, University of Oxford Spent two years studying Classics
1891	Moved to London to live with his mother Anne
November 1891	Travels to India to begin ICS career
1891 – 1900	Working in the districts of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal Worked in increasingly senior positions and by 1900 he is a District Magistrate Learnt Hindi
1900	Sent to Darjeeling to recover from malaria
1900	Appointed Deputy Magistrate and Collector for Darjeeling Learnt Tibetan
1901-1903	Settlement Officer for Kalimpong District Learnt Nepali
1903	Sent back to District Magistrate post on the plains Contracts Malaria again
March – May 1904	Ammo chu Mission in western Bhutan
May – October 1904	Acting Political Officer, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet
November 1904 – September 1905	Assistant Political Officer for Chumbi Valley
Early 1906	Bell is 'Back in my India District'
September 1906 – January 1907	Acting Political Officer for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet
1907	Visits USA, Canada, China and Japan
1908	Appointed as Political Officer Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet
January 1910	Leads Punakha Mission to Bhutan
February 1910	Dalai Lama arrives in British India
March 1910	Bell chaperones Dalai Lama and entourage during Hastings House visit
1911	Leads the Sikkim and Bhutan delegations at the Delhi Durbar
January 1912	Bell marries Cashie Fernie at St Paul's cathedral, Calcutta
December 1912	Bell's first child Arthur is born
September 1913 – July 1914	Simla conference, acts as Tibet advisors to plenipotentiary
1914	Visits Nepal
1915	Receives honorary title CMG
1915	Bell's second child Rongnye is born

1918	Bell's third child Lorna is born
April 1918	Takes long term sick leave
April 1919	Bell retires due to ill health
January 1920	Bell temporarily reinstated as Political Officer to lead mission to Tibet
November 1920 – October 1921	Stays in Lhasa
1922	Returns to England
1922	Receives knighthood, KCIE
1924	Publishes <i>Tibet Past & Present</i>
March 1927 – February 1928	Palhese visits the UK
1928	Publishes <i>The People of Tibet</i>
1931	Publishes <i>Religion of Tibet</i>
1933	Bell donates objects and manuscripts to the British Museum and to the V&A
1933 -1934	Bell returns to north-eastern India and takes a tour of southern Tibet
1934-35	Bell, Cashie and Rongnye travel to China, Japan, Manchuria and Mongolia
September 1935	Cashie dies in Beijing
1937	Awarded the Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal by the Royal Central Asian Society
1939	Bell emigrates to Vancouver Island
March 1945	Completes <i>Portrait of the Dalai Lama</i>
March 1945	Dies in Oak Bay, Vancouver Island
1946	<i>Portrait of the Dalai Lama</i> published

Appendix 5

Excerpts from the *Manual of Instructions to
Officers of the Political Department of the
Government of India*

TEXT BOX 1

- (1) in all cases the practice which governs the exchange of first calls between Chiefs and Political Officers should be recorded in detail and should be invariably followed in future in that State;
- (2) great care should be taken not to permit any new customs to grow up during a minority;
- (3) it is desirable to rehearse the proceedings beforehand when occasions of important ceremonial arise;
- (4) decisions should be made on the merits of each case with reference to the customs of the particular State; reliance should not be placed on comparisons with the procedure followed in other States;
- (5) in all cases the questions in issues should be fully and frankly talked over with the Durbar.

TEXT BOX 2

2. - (1) Save as otherwise provided in this Rule, a Government servant shall not, except with the previous sanction of the Government of India - (a) accept directly or indirectly on his own behalf or on behalf of any other person, or (b) permit any member of his family so to accept, any gift, gratuity or reward or any offer of a gift, gratuity or reward from an Indian.
- (2) The head of a Government or Administration or a Political Officer may accept a ceremonial gift from an Indian Prince or Chief if the gift is such that a return present will be made at the expense of Government. A gift so accepted shall be deposited in the Government Toshakhana.
- (3) Subject to the provisions of any general or Special order of the Local Government, any Government servant may accept from any Indian, a complimentary present of flowers or fruit or similar articles of trifling value, but all Government servants shall use their best endeavours to discourage the tender of such gifts.
- (4) Any Government servant may accept, or permit any member of his family to accept, from an Indian who is his personal friend, a wedding present of a value which is reasonable in all the circumstances of the case, and which, in the case of a wedding present offered to a European Government servant or to a member of his family, does not exceed Rs. 200. All Government servants shall use their best endeavours to discourage the tender of such presents, and such acceptance or permission shall be reported to the local Government and, if the local Government so requires, the present shall be returned to the donor.
- (5) If a Government servant cannot, without giving undue offence refuse a gift of substantial value from an Indian, he may accept the same, but shall, unless the Government of India by special order otherwise direct, deliver the gift to Government.

Appendix 6

Gift Lists and Letters

TEXT BOX 3**List of presents given by H Ho Dalai Lama**

	To H.E.	Value [Rs/-]
	One Buddha's image	100
Taken by H.E. {	One silver saucer, lid with jade cup	60
	One incense pot (silver)	75
In Toshakhana -	12 tolas of dust gold @ 20 Rs/- per tola	240
Taken by -	5 bundles of silk @ 200 per bundle	1000

		1475-0-0

	To Lady Minto [given in a separate gift by Dalai Lama on 17 March]	
In Toshakhana {	One bundle of silk	100
	10 tolas of gold @ 20 per tola	200

		300

	To Lady Minto's daughter	
In Toshakhana(?)	1 Bundle white silk	70
	Mr Butler	
Ditto -	One bundle silk	60
Not received -	One image	100
Taken by -	One silver saucer and lid with jade cup	60
Mr Butler		-----
		220

	H Hon Lieut-Gov Bengal	
	One bundle silk	100
	One bundle blue silk	120
	One image	100
	One silver saucer + lid with jade cup	60

		380

TEXT BOX 4**Gifts from the Dalai Lama to His Majesty the King**

Value

£. s. d.

One scarf of good luck	0.	15.	0.
One old image gold gilt	10.	0.	0.
Seven scrolls	70.	0.	0.
One Chorten (containing religious emblems)	10.	0.	0.
Seven bags of gold weighing five sangs each (say)	160.	0.	0.
Two charm boxes of silver	15.	0.	0.
One enamelled kettle and bowl	30.	0.	0.
One old Tibetan sword or Lodo	5.	0.	0.
Twenty Lynx skins and twenty fox skins	30.	0.	0.
Two copper tea-pots ornamented with silver	20.	0.	0.
Seven gold-gilt Buddhist emblems	30.	0.	0.
Two complete sets of emblems	40.	0.	0.
One cup case decorated with gold	6.	0.	0.
One complete set of saddlery, which belonged formerly to the King of Rimpung	350.	0.	0.
One steel coat of armour and one steel helmet	40.	0.	0.
Two leather shields, worked with gold	10.	0.	0.
One pair iron cranes ornamented with gold and silver	30.	0.	0.
Four different kinds of Silk	60.	0.	0.
Total	£916.	15s.	0d.

TEXT BOX 5**Letter and Gifts from the Dalai Lama to Her Majesty the Queen**

Her Majesty the Great Sweet-Scented Jewel Empress, Queen of England, the Acquirer of Merit in every sphere by the Excellence of their Works

During the period of some three years that I, with my ministers resided in British Territory, the Great British Government showed us great favour in every way. Now therefore we of one accord have resolved that this kindness shall be remembered in our hearts, and shall not be forgotten, and we are sending this man to express our thanks. There is no Power, save the British Government, to which we can turn for help, and for a continuance of unchanging kindness forever. This matter has been set forth in our letter to His Majesty. We request your Majesty to show your kindness towards us by not failing to move His Majesty the King to help us. I am offering prayers for your long life. Please remember this.

Submitted with
 A silk scarf of greeting
 An old gold-gilt image
 A complete jade necklace
 A Tibetan Lady's gown, made of spotted woollen cloth
 A pair of boots

On an auspicious date of the month

Seal of Dalai Lama

To The Excellent Chief Minister of (or in) England who is very powerful by his merit.

The reason of submitting this by the Dalai Lama-
 Be pleased to remember that Tibet stands to China in the relation of a priest to his disciple, and that Tibet is not subject to the power of China. Of this I have already informed you by letter from time to time. When I and my Ministers stayed in British Territory, for nearly three years, we were provided with horses / houses?, a Police Officer, and a Police guard, a General Assistant, a doctor and food. These were signal honours which were shown to us. I and all my Tibetan subjects are filled with content. Therefore, my Ministers and the national assembly of Tibet, have discussed this matter, and have recorded it in a book, that this kindness may not be forgotten forever, and that the kindness may be returned. Therefore I am sending this, my man, purposely to submit thanks, and with him I beg to send -
 one scarf of good luck
 one old gold gilt image
 one bundle of gold weighing five sangs
 one enamelled plate
 one copper tea-pot ornamented with silver
 one leopard's skin
 one piece of dark ya-sheu silk
 Three bundles of dark blue woollen cloth

I beg that as I requested in my letter to His Majesty the King-Emperor, you will kindly continue to maintain unbroken the friendship between us, and that, if it be possible after consulting the Russian Government, both Great Britain and Russia may kindly each depute a representative to Lhasa, for the benefit of Tibet, so that the power both temporal and spiritual may remain with the Tibetans themselves. If this cannot be done, I beg that discussion may be held with other Kingdoms in such a way that the control of Tibet may remain with the Tibetans themselves.
 I beg that necessary assistance may be given to this, my man.

On a day of a month of the water mouse year.

Seal of the Dalai Lama

TEXT BOX 5 continued.

To: The Excellent Chief Minister for Foreign Affairs of (or in) England, who is enjoying the fruits of his merits.

Be pleased to remember that Tibet stands to China in the relation of a priest to his disciple, and that Tibet is not subject to the power of China. At this I have already informed you by letter from time to time. When I and my Ministers stayed in British Territory, for nearly three years, we were provided with houses, a Police Officer and a Police guard, a General Assistant, a doctor and food. These were signal honours which were shown to us. I and all my Tibetan subjects are filled with great content. Therefore I, my Ministers, and the National Assembly of Tibet, have discussed this matter, and have recorded it in a book, that this kindness may not be forgotten forever and that the kindness may be returned. Therefore I am sending this, my man, purposely to submit thanks, and with him, I beg to send-

One scarf of good luck
 One old gold gilt image
 One silver gold gilt image
 One silver saucer and lid for teacup
 One 'lodo' sword
 One copper teapot ornamented with silver
 One roll of dark blue silk

I beg that, as I requested in my letter to His Majesty the King Emperor, you will kindly continue to maintain unbroken the friendship between us, and that, if this be possible, after consulting the Russian Government, both Great Britain and Russia may kindly each depute a Representative to Lhasa for the benefit of Tibet, so that the power both temporal and spiritual may remain with the Tibetans themselves. If this cannot be done, I beg that discussion may be held with other kingdoms in such a way that the control of Tibet may remain with the Tibetans themselves.

I beg that necessary assistance may be given to this, my man.

On a day of a month of the water mouse year. (1912-13) Seal of the Dalai Lama

To: The Chief Commissioner of Education of the British Government

The British Government has shown great friendship and kindness to Tibet and therefore the friendship between the British and Tibet is unchanged forever. On this account I am sending four Tibetan students to obtain a thorough English education. Can you please remember to send them to a great school and to give them the best education, so that they may reach the extreme limit, and so may be competent to help the Tibetan Government. I beg to send this with-

One scarf of good luck
 One gold gilt image of Buddha
 One copper consecrated water pot
 One roll of blue silk
 Two bundles of dark blue woollen cloth.

On a day of a month of the water mouse year. Seal of the Dalai Lama

TEXT BOX 6

To: His Majesty the Great and Most Excellent Emperor, King of England, who, by the Wheel of his Merit, exercises universal power.

The reason of submitting this:-

Be pleased to remember that Tibet is related to China as a Priest to his Disciple. Of this I have already informed Your Majesty by letter, from time to time. When I and my Ministers were on our way to India we requested Your Government by telegram through the British Trade Agent at Yatung, to help us, and we received a favourable reply. From the day of our arrival in British Territory, for nearly three years, we were provided with houses to live in; with police to protect us; with a police-officer [Mr Laden La] who assisted us in every way; with a doctor; and with food. These were signal honours which were shown to us. Furthermore, I received great help towards my return to Tibet. All these things are known by all my subjects, and I, and they are filled with great content. Therefore I, the King, my ministers, and my national assembly, have discussed the matter, and have recorded it in a book, that this great kindness may not be forgotten, forever. Therefore, also, we are sending this our man purposely to submit our thanks, and with him we send

Your Great Empire affords protection to the small kingdom, so that the inhabitants live in peace. So therefore there has been, and will be, none other than Your Majesty who can afford protection to Tibet, and this protection we have resolutely determined to crave. We beg that you will protect us, and will continue to maintain an unbroken friendship towards us. We also pray that, if it be possible, Your Majesty and the Emperor of Russia will consult together, and that you and he will Each send a Representative to Lhasa, for the benefit of Tibet, and that the Power, with Temporal and Spiritual may remain with the Tibetan themselves. This cannot be done, we beg that discussion may be held with their Kingdoms [China] in such a way that the Chinese may not harm the Tibetans and that the Tibetans may enjoy their own power in Tibet.

I am offering prayers for the long life and prosperity of your Majesty, of Your Queen, and of all your Princes, and for the extension of your power.

Please remember this.

TEXT BOX 7

List of proposed presents from the King to the Dalai Lama with detailed estimates of probable cost.

	£.	s.	d.
1. Signed Photograph of the King, in gold frame			
2. Signed Photograph of the Queen, in gold frame			
3. Gold Cup			
4. Gold Plate			
5. Pair of Gold Vases			
6. Pair of Gold Lions			
7. Photograph of Buckingham Palace, in silver frame			
8. Photograph of Houses of Parliament, in silver frame			
9. One complete set of coins			
Cost of nos: 1 to 9 in case, arranged according to design which will be submitted (nos 1 to 7 already estimate for at £600.)			
	630 .	0.	0.
10. Sword and sword belt	25.	0.	0.
11. Telescope and stand	21.	10.	0.
12. Scotch Plaid	13.	7.	9.
13. Irish Table Linen	14.	0.	0.
14. Encyclopedia Britannica	121.	0.	0.
Indian Paper Edition bound gold morocco			
15, Writing Case, silver mounted	15.	0.	0.
16.17.18. Three horses, at R.s 1000 each	200.	0.	0.
19. Saddle, saddle cloth, and bridle	45.	0.	0.
20. Pair-horse carriage, with harness	200.	0.	0.
21. Pair 12-bore hammerless ejector guns,	220.	0.	0.
in case, with 500 cartridges, in case			
and a silk scarf to contain the King's letters	2.	0.	0.
TOTAL	£1506.	17s.	9d.

TEXT BOX 8**List of presents presented to Sir Henry McMahon by the Tibetan Government**

- (1) An image of Tse-pag-me (copper gilt), about 6" or 7" high.
- (2) A copper gilt Chorten (miniature stupa) of the model called Nam-gyal or Victorious.
- (3) A banner of 8 manifestations of Guru Padma Sambhawa, set in very rare kind of silk.
- (4) Two old banners of a very rare old Chinese lithographed picture out of the 16 Maha Sthavirus (Nerten Chudruk), disciples of the lord Buddha who undertook to live in the world as long as the beneficial influence of the Buddha's faith existed.
- (5) Best quality Tibetan gold - 20 tolas in one packet
- (6) One Chinese silver horse-shoe (block)
- (7) One pair Tibetan gold gilt trumpets, medium size.
- (8) One gold gilt incense-burner with cover with brass chain attached.
- (9) One entire piece of superior white silk called Chatdan.
- (10) Ditto. yellow colour - 1 piece
- (11) Two pieces blue Wotsu silk.
- (12) One copper gilt elephant with pedestal
- (13) One ancient Tibetan manufactured cloisonne work stork
- (14) One carved lacquer work bowl, received from the Emperor of China, with cover.
- (15) One leopard skin
- (16) One bear skin
- (17) One old and rare Tibetan woollen Lama's garment
- (18) One marino plaid (Lama's dress)
- (19) One specially ordered woollen Lama's vest mounted with rare Chinese yellow cloth of gold and a red Chabshub
- (20) One pair red silk needlework Tibetan boots.
- (21) One hat for a tsetrunga mounted with feathers thus making a complete set of trapu's dress.
- (22) One complete set of armour with helmet etc.
- (23) One gilt pure silver offering vessel with cover
- (24) One thonthing silk pillar ornament.
- (25) One ditto. Chubur (Hanger in a Hall room for ornament).
- (26) One dress for a Grand Lama of the Tantric Order called (Ngar Chang) of fine and rare ancient silk, but well preserved and brand new in appearance). This is also called Shanag Dress meaning black hat, and is in fact a dancing dress.
- (27) One red silk vest to match the above.
- (28) One zorphang blue-black silk apron with a face worked on it.
- (29) One bronze Phurpa (tantric lama's dagger)
- (30) One imitation scalp made of cloth pasted and black silk hair.

TEXT BOX 8 continued.

(31) One Shanag (black hat) with a wig of black hair, the hat itself made of black horju silk, with black velvet birds nest (the black ball), surrounded by a five pointed dorje painted with real gold paint, leather flames, and streamers of intestines of leather too and peacock feathers. A silver crescent gilt sun with turquoise studs and variegated coloured silk Chang down behind with bone ornaments complete.

(32) One complete outfit for a stag dancer consisting of dress, collar, half blue half green, with coloured bands at the waist also brand new in appearance though of rare old silk. The cape to this is of well arrange strips of vari coloured silks all sewn together.

(33) A stag mask made of buckram, surmounted by a silver button on the head between the horns, from which are suspended ribbons tipped with little silver bells, This has a piece of red serxhi silk velvet Chang down behind.

(34) Buckram scalp with tassles

(35) A complete set of a Durtred Dagpos dancing dress (Durtrog Dakpos means the owner or lord of the cemetery and is the figure of a skeleton or death). This is one of the scenes which occur in a Tibetan lama dance. The dress is made of crimson broad cloth, upon which the ribs are bands of white silk sewn on. The tiger skin lion cover is made velvet colour. A durdag (Death) mask to match adorned with smaller skulls, and flames issuing out of the mouth, and surmounted by a solid silver dorji on the crown of the head. Rainbow coloured fan shaped ears.

(36) A gold gilt filligree work saddle studded with beads and stones, with purple velvet cushion and flaps, with bridle cruppers martingales 2 hair domdoms (ornaments), and carved work stirrups.

(37) A saddle cover of Sabab silk fringed with silken fringes

(38) A nang-dzod silk scarf

TEXT BOX 9**To Lady McMahon****List of presents**

(1) A painted banner scroll of Dorji Chang (Buddha Bajra dharu the principle Buddha of the Kagyurpa sect of Northern Buddhists).

(2) A pair of the scrolls of very rare old lithographed copy of two of the Nerten Chutruk (16 Mahasthavirus or Arhats real disciples of the Lord Buddha, who consented to remain in the world and to work for the benefit of the sentient beings until the influence of the faith of the Lord Buddha will last amongst men in the world.

(3) A piece of rare and superior white silk (Nango)

(4) Ditto blue silk (Nango)

(5) A small packet of the best Tibetan gold, 15 tolas in weight

(6) Chinese Imperial present. An ancient cloisonne vessel with cover

TEXT BOX 10**List of presents to His Excellency the Viceroy of India [Part One]:-**

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| Retained by Hardinge | (1) A silk scarf of superior quality |
| Retained by Hardinge | (2) A gilt pot of Tse-Pag-Me with lotus leaves which open displaying nine images of the god "Tse-Pag-Me" (the measureless one) |
| Retained by Hardinge | (3) An old jade pot of superior quality with the figure of a dragon carved on the lid. |
| | (4) A tiger skin |
| | (5) A leopard skin, and |
| | (6) Three lynx skins |

List of presents for Lord Hardinge [Part Two]

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| | (1) 1 Bell Metal image of Men-pe Gyal-po (God of Medicine) with clothes complete. |
| | (2) 1 Gilt miniature Chorten |
| | (3) 1 picture scroll of Guru Tsen-gye |
| Retained by Hardinge | (4) 3 -----do-----of the 16 Nertens. |
| | (5) 30 Tolas of first class Tibetan gold |
| | (6) 2 Chinese silver horse shoes |
| | (7) 1 pair big copper trumpets |
| | (8) 1 pair smaller silver trumpets |
| | (9) 1 pair thigh bone trumpets |
| | (10) 1 copper incense bowl |
| Mask retained by Hardinge | (11) 1 pair of A Tsa Ras (Brahims) dress, complete with masks. |
| Mask retained by Hardinge | (12) 1 complete dress of Dhu-to-dakpo |
| | (13) 1 pair of complete dress of Sha-nag |
| | (14) 1 complete dress of stag |
| | (15) 4 complete pillar covers for decorations. |
| | (16) 3 rolls silk |
| | (17) 2 leopard skins |
| | (18) 1 gilt silver pot (kettle-shaped) |
| | (19) 1 pair of old China bowls of good quality. |
| | (20) 1 complete set of Tibet saddlery |
| | (21) 1 conch with silver frame |

TEXT BOX 11

From: Bell
4th October 1913

To: Sec of Govt of India Foreign Dep

I submit herewith a Tibetan letter, with its translation, from His Holiness the Dalai Lama to His Excellency the Viceroy, with the presents mentioned in the letter.

Translation

To the Most Powerful and the Highly Exalted Viceroy of India.

Through the kind help rendered by the British Government for the welfare of Tibet a conference has now been arranged to be held at Darjeeling among the three delegates of Great Britain, Tibet and China in connection with the rupture between China and Tibet. In this connection the ruling Minister Sha-tra leaves here as the delegate for Tibet.

The great British Government being the only hope of Tibet, will very kindly see that the Chinese offices and soldiers are withdrawn from the Tibetan territory of Kham, and that they are not permitted again to come to Tibet by false pretention as before. They (the British Government) will also advise and help Tibet heretofore in order to settle the question of her boundary with China and to obtain the sole administration of the country. And thus it is hoped that the friendly relations between Great Britain and Tibet will be perpetuated for ever.

Sent by the Dalai Lama with the articles as per enclosed list as a small present, on the 21st of the 5th month of the Water-Bull year (24th July 1913)

Appendix 7

tosha khana Lists

TEXT BOX 12

To Sec of Govt of India in FD, Simla
Yatung 17th Sept 1913

I have the honour to inform you that I have to-day dispatched one wooden box containing Toshakhana articles that have been received at this Agency up to date to your address, through Messrs. Ram Chandra Mintri, Government Carriage Contractor Silliguri.

No	Date	No. & Name	From whom Received	Remarks
1	18-9-12	One red silk girdle	Tsetrung Shopa Lodrup	-/8/-
2	---do---	One roll woollen blue	Tsepalungsha cloth	Sold locally 5/-
3	---do---	One large carpet	Tangta Loi (Chinese off)	-- do--- -8/-
4	19-9-12	Two cups (cloisonné with covers & saucers	Mr Ma Shih Chou --do--	5/-
5	20-9-12	One flower pot of Chinese manufacture	Major Chang	awaits order
6	21-9-12	One Cloisonné tiffin carrier	Lonchen Shatra	6/-
7	---do---	One knife in cloisonné sheath	Lonchen Shokang	2/-
8	23-9-12	One small idol	Ngan Talai, Chinese official	4/-
9	24-9-12	One ---do---	Chinese Official	5/-
10	25-9-12	One carpet	Len Daren	Sold locally for 5/-
11	4-10-12	One bundle white woolen cloth	Depon Kusho, Phema	---do--- 5/-
12	10-12-12	Two idols	Len Amban	15/-
13	---do---	One piece blue silk cloth	---do---	18/-
14	9-1-13	One carpet of leopard skin	Chinese Official	Sold locally 5/-
15	---do---	One piece of red silk	---do---	1/-
16	---do---	One piece light green silk	---do---	1/-
17	---do---	One carpet small	---do---	2/-
18	---do---	Four rolls of Chinese pictures	---do---	4/-
19	---do---	One red silk girdle	---do---	Sold locally 2/-
20	---do---	One cup cover and saucer brass	---do---	1/-
21	---do---	One scarf	Tibetan Trader, Shigatse	8/-
22	14-1-13	Two picture scrolls	General Chung	5/- each
23	---do---	One Jade paper weight	---do---	40/-
24	---do---	One porcelain bowl	---do---	28/-
25	---do---	One flower vase of brass	---do---	15/-
26	---do---	One brass cup cover and saucer	Tu-Kuan, Chinese Official	1/-
27	---do---	One copper tea pot	Chinese Official	10/-
28	---do---	One carpet	Depon Tempa, Tibetan Official	Sold locally 3/-
29	22-1-13	One scarf superior quality	Tse pa Lung-sha, Tibetan Official	1/-
30	---do---	One white silk	---do---	8/-
31	---do---	One roll of spotted woolen cloth	---do---	8/-

TEXT BOX 12 cont.

32	21-4-13	One idol	Haji Gulam Mohammed, Gyantse	5/-
33	24-5-13	Two Bhutanese cloth	Paro Kusho & his son	8/-
34	31-5-13	One carpet	Phari Jongpon	Sold locally 5/-
35	1-6-13	One carpet	Teling Depon	Sold locally 5/-
36	2-6-13	Half a tola of gold dust	Lamen Khempo	
37	3-6-13	One Chinese tiffin set	Depon Miru Gyalwa	10/-
38	---do---	One small knife in cloisonné sheath	Tibetan Official, Shigatse	1/-
39	---do---	One cloisonné cup stand	Tibetan Trader, Lhasa	8/-
40	16-6-13	One blue silk girdle	Rupon Kusho, Yatung	8/-
41	---do---	One carpet	Brother of Khampa Jongpon	Sold locally 5/-
42	24-6-13	One charm box with strap	Lhase & Gyalse Kushos of Tering, Gyantse	6/-
43	---do---	One Image	---do---	5/-
44	---do---	One carpet	---do---	4/-
45	23-7-13	One carpet	Thai-chi Kusho, Tibetan official	4/-
46	---do---	One roll of Nambu cloth	Tibetan official	x
47	29-7-13	Sixteen tolas of gold dust	Lonchen Shatra	
48	---do---	One image of Buddha	---do---	5/-
49	---do---	One Chorten	---do---	5/-
50	---do---	One offering vase of silver with stand	---do---	7/-
51	---do---	One sheath for a Tibetan sword	---do---	2/-
52	---do---	Two picture scrolls	---do---	8/- each
53	---do---	One Leopard Skin	---do---	5/-
54	---do---	One carpet	---do---	Sold locally 5/-
55	5-9-13	One Bhutanese cloth	Paro Kusho	5/-

Text Box 13

Presents received by the Political Officer in Sikkim, his wife and their infant daughter from Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibetan Chiefs etc

To whom presented	Description	Articles which PO wishes to buy are marked with a x	TK value
CA Bell	1 piece of silk		Rs 7
-do-	1 Lepcha Chadder		Rs 3
-do-	1 Pony	Already sold and sale proceeds c[re]d[i]t to Govt	
-do-	-do-		
-do-	1 white scarf	Reissued for presentation	
-do-	4 yellow spotted -do-		
-do-	1 piece red chinese silk		Rs7-8-
-do-	1 piece brown silk		Rs 5
-do-	1 piece Tanka spotted silk		Rs -11
-do-	1 Lepcha chadar		Rs 3
-do-	-do-		Rs 3
-do-	-do-		Rs 3
-do-	1 Tibetan cup with lid and stand		Rs 9
-do-	1 Lepcha chadar		Rs 3
Mrs Bell	1 piece of blue silk		Rs 4
CA Bell	1 jade slab	x	Rs 15
-do-	1 packet containing one spoonful of Tibetan gold		
-do-	1 Pang kop		Rs -8-
-do-	1 Khamar		Rs 1
-do-	1 Pechung		Rs 2
-do-	1 Budi		Rs-8-
-do-	1 Kerag		Rs1
-do-	1 Tagre		Rs 1
-do-	1 packet containing A “sho” weight of gold		Rs 50
Miss Bell	1 pair of Tibetan boots small size	x	Rs 7
CA Bell	1 Brass shrine with a peacock feather in place of an image		Rs 10
-do-	1 Pankep		Rs -8-
-do-	1 Than of Bhutanese tussore		Rs 3
-do-	1 Kamar (3 pieces) unmatched		Rs -8-
-do-	1 Khate		Rs -4-
-do-	1 Pangkep		Rs 3
-do-	1 piece Liwang silk		Rs 2
-do-	1 -do- red silk		Rs 5
-do-	1 pair Tarchang (scarves attached to pillars in monasteries)	x	Rs 15
-do-	1 square chinese rug	x	Rs 8
-do-	1 Chinese hat		Rs 1
-do-	3 pieces of yellow silk with flower designs	x	Rs 15
-do-	1 piece brown silk		Rs 3
-do-	1 Pangden		Rs-4-

Appendix 8

tosha khana Original Lists

Removed due to
copyright restrictions

Removed due to
copyright restrictions

Removed due to
copyright restrictions

Appendix 9

Bell's *tosha khana* Lists

Present to removed.
 1 ~~to the~~ ^{to the} ~~image~~ ^{image} of ~~Bartholomew~~

1. image of name do his the heads
2. The ten soldiers' figures are the
Painting & shaping some of my wood for bookbinding
Scribbles

Book on Delhi by J. R. Hearen

23

10

01

91

10

10

3

110

100

160

3

Presented by

...the same - I was found ...

G. K. Kinnear

with the following I was sent to Dr. Lee Jones

~~Dona~~ Dona Anne & Bando met T. Lawrence Ross for a

8/10
Bury M.D.

✓ checks for photo tour amount at Bellu & Co. 11/18

12/12 Between tables well 123/8

10

~~of Buntan.~~

~~6158~~ ~~to cartridge case, found 9 cases~~

~~35~~ 36

~~mark~~ ~~work~~ - T. Chas. & Co. W. B. S.

Slip for Sir Isaac Newton

136/121
12/12/12

[illegible]

100

7

1000

Wiederholung

Appendix 10

Bell's *List of Curios*

patterns on blue on the cup
are kang-chung mang-chung (𪛗𪛗𪛗
𪛗𪛗𪛗) random patterns with
out any special ~~signification~~
meaning.

The cup is 16 inches round
the upper circumference, 5 inches
round the base & $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.

The cup is mounted on
a stand of Chinese brass ~~some~~
with lotus petals carved on its
upper tier & round the sides. This
stand is ~~also some~~ hundreds of
~~years~~ old, though very much
newer than the cup. How-
ever such stands are
usually made of silver.

Above description given by

P. S. Palhese.

Mr. Macdonald says it
is well known that former by Li-
betans used to make porcelain
but have since lost the art. The
crudeness of the workmanship in-
dicates that this cup was made
by a Li. He would guess it at
about two hundred years old.

Palhese adds
that he obtained
this cup last year
from the
Pü-kang ~~the~~
middle ~~the~~
king, he obtained

Gyan-tse & Shu-
te, about 10

miles from
Gyan-tse. These

~~the~~ ~~king~~ ~~the~~

day before

moving to his

and to the place

of law, we heard

within Palhese's

Ser-chok est-

ate, & the day

Superintendent

of (Tra-lang) of

the houses by

gave the cup to

Palhese after the

usual fashion,

by which ten

holders give up

to their land lords.

The day Superin-

dent described it

as a cup of silver

of great value.

~~Recd on 9/9/10 from ^{one of the head} the clerk
of the French Consulate. A~~

~~copper tea pot ornamented with
silver. About $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. high & about
25 in. round the broadest part.
Palhese says it is fairly old.
(Suitable for giving as a present)~~

~~Engaging a
present~~

1920.

- A47. Bronze flower vase, 13 inches high about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches round the base, narrow with figure of a dragon (?) climbing up it. Palhese thinks it old, and to me also it seems old. Received on 9th September 1920 from Tashi Lama.
- A48. A pair of Kang-hsi vases, given me by Palhese in August 1920. Palhese says that these two vases were included among articles that were brought by Tsong-pön Choktar for generations ago, during the time when Tendzin Nam-gyel Shappe was head of the Pal-ha household. Chok-tar was one of the better class servants in the Pal-ha household and was sent to Peking overland to buy in China pearls, jade, porcelain and silks of the best qualities and usually old ones. Such was formerly the practice among the Tibetan nobility. And the articles thus bought, were entered in catalogues, which were preserved in the house. It is in this catalogue that Palhese saw the entry of these two vases as having been brought at that time.
- A49. Blue and white porcelain cup with tail received from Palhese on 9th September, 1920. Palhese says it is some two thousand years old, having been made during the times when kings were first established in Tibet. Macdonald estimates it as only two hundred years old; adding that it is well known that formerly Tibetans used to make porcelain but have since lost the art, and that the crudeness of the workmanship on this cup indicates that it was made by a Tibetan.